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ON AN ANCIENT SETTLEMENT IN THE SOUTH-WEST OF THE BARONY OF CORKAGUINEY, COUNTY OF KERRY.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A.

(Plates XVII. to XXV.)

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VII.

ON AN ANCIENT SETTLEMENT IN THE SOUTH-WEST OF THE BARONY OF CORKAGUINEY, COUNTY OF KERRY. BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A. (PLATES XVII TO XXV).

[Read FEBRUARY 14, 1898.]

(COMMUNICATED BY ALEXANDER MACALISTER, M.D., F.R.S.)

INTRODUCTORY.

THE subject of this paper is a group of structures, in many respects of unique interest and importance, which lies along the sea-coast between Ventry Harbour and Dunmore Head, about ten miles, more or less, from Dingle. The site of the settlement is indicated on sheet 52 of the six-inch Ordnance map of county Kerry, and from an inspection of this sheet a general idea of the archæological wealth of the district can be obtained. The map, however, does not indicate more than a comparatively small proportion of the remains actually to be seen on the site, and the same is true of the corresponding portion of the recently published twenty-five inch Survey. This can easily be seen by comparing the maps referred to with that accompanying the present paper (Pl. XVII).

It is singular that so remarkable a series of remains should not have long since received the attention it deserves. It is completely ignored in the Ordnance Survey Letters preserved in the Royal Irish Academy's library; and with the exception of Windele, Hitchcock, and George Du Noyer, none of the elder archæologists seem to have noticed it. The only printed attempt to give a general description of the site is that contained in the paper published by Du Noyer,* entitled "On the Remains of Ancient Stone-built Fortresses and Habitations occurring to the west of Dingle, County Kerry." An abstract of this paper was printed by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for the use of its members who took part in the recent excursion of that Society in 1897 (when this district was visited), and reprinted in its *Journal*.† Scattered notices are to be found among

* *Archæological Journal* for March, 1858 (vol. xv, p. 1). † Ser. v, vol. vii, pp. 300–306.

the works of O'Curry and Lord Dunraven, relating to individual structures on the site; reference will be made to these as occasion arises in the course of this paper. The only other noteworthy contribution to the literature of the subject is the paper entitled "A Report on Ancient Monuments in Co. Kerry," by Sir T. N. Deane.*

The following account of the remains is the result of three extended visits to the district, in the course of which the site was surveyed field by field, the twenty-five inch Ordnance map being used as a basis on which to work. A number of boys living in the neighbourhood were pressed into the service, and scoured the hillside in search of ancient buildings; and I do not think that anything of importance can have been missed. In a survey of this kind, care has to be taken to guard against errors of commission as well as of omission. The natives of the district erect dry-stone structures for the reception of sheep, and also for turf-ricks left on the mountain-side to dry; and in some cases these can be only distinguished from genuinely ancient structures by a careful examination. Nothing has been admitted into the following detailed survey that I have not satisfied myself is, at least in origin, an ancient building.

It is not proposed at the present stage of the inquiry to discuss any of the conclusions reached by previous writers, or to express any opinions that I may have formed regarding the origin of these remains. It will be better first to describe in detail the structures as they now exist, quite irrespective of theoretical considerations. For convenience I shall allude to the group of structures as the "settlement," without at present attaching any definite sense, monastic or secular, to the word.

The settlement covers four townlands, and verges on three others. These seven, in the order in which a visitor from Dingle reaches them, are Caherbullig, Kilvickadownig, Fahan, Glenfahan, Coumeenoole South, Coumeenoole North, and Ballyickeen. Few structures are visible from the road—the enormous lios at Kilvickadownig and Dún Beag are striking exceptions—and but one or two are on the seaward side of it. The spurs of Mount Eagle and Beennacouma slope steeply upward from the road on the landward side. The remains cluster thickly in both the lower part of

* *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, Series iii, vol. iii, pp. 100–107.

the mountain, which is cultivated, and the upper portion, which is wild moorland. Many of the more important structures are in the neighbourhood of the fresh water of the Glenfahan River, as might be expected. On the other hand, the remains diminish in number and in interest as the rugged and precipitous Slea Head is reached. After this difficult portion of the mountain side is passed, the series is resumed in the very interesting, little-known group on the townlands of Coumeenoole.

In the following paper each structure is distinguished by an index number and the initial letter of the townland upon which it happens to be, and is denoted by its number upon the accompanying map. An asterisk is added to the headings in the survey, before the names of structures the sites of which are *not* indicated in the twenty-five inch Survey; and an obelus to denote those indicated by conventional signs, but not marked as antiquities. To assist in identifying the exact site of antiquities so marked, the acreage of the fields containing them, as figured on the twenty-five inch map, is added in parentheses;* it being impossible to reproduce, on the small scale of the general map, the modern field-boundaries.

SURVEY OF THE SETTLEMENT

TOWNLAND OF CAHERBULLIG

*Cb 1. Lios (7 ·202).

A small and to some extent abraded lios, or ring-mound of earth, presenting no features calling for special remark.

Cb 2. Clochán (6 ·569).

This structure was of considerable dimensions, but it is now grass-grown and almost shapeless. To the west are the foundations of a large semicircular courtyard, 29 feet in diameter, with a subsidiary chamber to the south. In the centre of the building is a circular chamber, entered from the east by a doorway, 1 foot 6 inches wide. This chamber is 7 feet in

* Thus, "* Cb 1. Lios (7 ·202)" denotes that the lios is the first object of antiquity which calls for notice among those on the townland of Caherbullig, and that it will be found in the field marked ·202 on the seventh sheet of the series of twenty-five inch maps corresponding to sheet 52 of the six-inch Survey; though the object itself is not indicated on the map.

diameter. There is a bed-recess running westward out of the chamber, on the level of the ground, 5 feet 3 inches deep, 1 foot 9 inches across, 2 feet high; it is roofed with three large flagstones. Close to this, on the south side, is a well-built cupboard recess; the only example in the entire settlement with upright jambstones, and with a flagstone for its floor. This recess is 8 inches above the present level of the ground; 1 foot 3 inches high, 1 foot 2 inches across, and 2 feet deep. There was another chamber to the north of that just described, and other portions of the structure stood to the east; but the remains of these no longer present any definite features.

Cb 3. CLOCHÁN (*ib.*)

In the north-west corner of the same field as the preceding; the ruins of a single-chambered clochán, showing no features worth describing.

Cb 4. CLOCHÁN GROUP (6 1·482).

Cb 4*a*. This is a large circular structure, 12 feet 4 inches in diameter. The wall is 4 feet 6 inches thick. The eastern half of the chamber has been filled with *débris*, and a second chamber has at some time been constructed within it. This chamber resembles a bed-recess; the length (N.N.W. to S.S.E.) is 3 feet 3 inches, the breadth 1 foot 9 inches, the height 1 foot 4 inches; the entrance faces S.S.E.; the floor slopes downward from the entrance. For a considerable distance to the east of this structure the field is covered with *débris*, now grass-grown.

Cb 4*b*, *c*, *d*. Three destroyed clochán, on the west side of the same field as Cb 4*a*, and probably subsidiary to it. They are now full of field-stones, and nothing can be made out about them.

TOWNLAND OF KILVICKADOWNIG

*K 1. CLOCHÁN (7 ·269).

A structure at an angle in a field-wall, defaced and filled with stones.

K 2. CEALLÚRACH (7 1·103).

This site is denoted as "Galluragh [*sic*] Burial Ground" on the old six-inch Ordnance map. It is of considerable interest. Of its Christian nature there can be no question; two monuments remain, one within the present precincts of the cemetery, the other in the adjacent field to the south, both inscribed with crosses. The graveyard lies, however, upon the site of a lios of large dimensions, the vallum of which is traceable when the grass of the field is not too long. This lios extended into the neighbouring fields on the west and north, but there they have been effaced by the plough. A ridge running across it from east to west for about 18 feet—probably the line of a souterrain—is locally regarded as the grave of Daire Donn, "the high king of the world," whose invasion of Eriu was repulsed in the battle of Ventry Harbour.

In the centre of the lios stands a circular clochán. It is improbable (for superstitious rather than sanitary reasons) that a burial-ground would have been chosen as a residence; we must, therefore, regard this structure as either belonging originally to the lios, or else a comparatively late intrusion made long after the ceallúrach had fallen out of use. The clochán is very roughly built, much injured, and filled with stones and rubbish; a luxuriant bramble-growth adds to the difficulty of making a satisfactory examination. The wall of the clochán is standing to a height of about 5 feet: it is partly incorporated in the modern boundary wall of the field. The accompanying ground-plan shows its position, as well as that of the other remains of this burial-ground. At the observable height the internal diameter of the clochán is about 10 feet. The doorway—about 2 feet high—faces the south-east, but is blocked up. Near it, on the south side, is a projecting stone

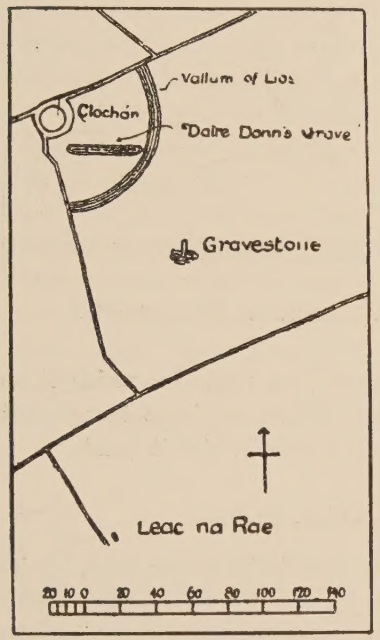

Fig. 1.—Plan of the Ceallúrach at Kilvickadownig.

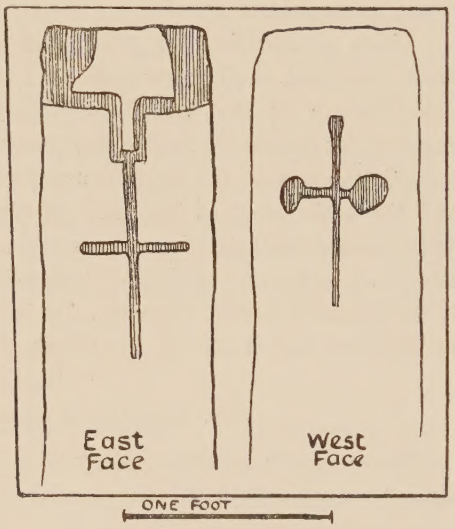

Fig. 2.—Cross-signed stone in the Ceallúrach at Kilvickadownig.

of the kind so often found in structures of this character, and probably intended to fasten ropes around: the object of such a rope would be to keep in position the turf scraws with which these buildings, like their modern cowhouse representatives, were probably kept weather-tight. Similar projecting stones are found at Dún Beag, Sgeilig Mhichil, Inismurray, &c.

The monument within the ceallúrach (marked "Gravestone" in the above plan) is a standing stone, uniformly rectangular in section, 4 feet high. It bears crosses on the two broad faces, which are represented in the annexed illustration; the appendage at the top of the eastern face is peculiar. It seems as though the artist intended to carve a second cross in relief, but abandoned the work before it was completed.

The stone in the adjoining field is 3 feet 4 inches high, 3 feet 5 inches wide. It bears a handsome cross, depicted in the accompanying cut. The usual tale of buried treasure hangs about this monument. In recent years a man dug a hole—still to be seen—in front of it, searching for the treasure. Narrators differ as to whether he heard of its existence from a wandering beggar, or dreamt of it; but all are agreed that he entered upon his unlawful researches against the advice of his wife, and that he was very properly fairy-struck before he had dug far enough to reach the treasure.

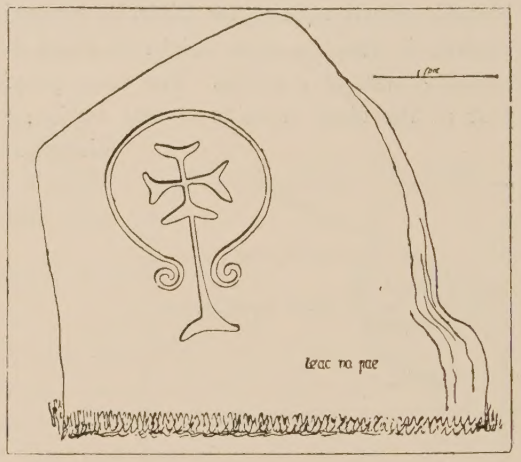

FIG. 3.—Leac na Rae, Kilvickadownig.

This monument is known as *leac na rae*—"stone of the moon"—by the people living in the neighbourhood. This name might be explained as referring merely to the circle surrounding the cross: but the above tale, and another example of lunar nomenclature in the immediate vicinity, suggest that something deeper may possibly underlie the name. Between the ceallúrach and the main road, at the back of some cottages, is a small standing stone popularly known as *gallán na gealaighe*—"standing stone of the moon"—a name for which there is no apparent reason whatever. It is worth noticing that *leac na rae* is so turned that its inscribed face is towards the boundary wall immediately in front of which it stands.*

K 3. CLOCHÁN NA GCAT (7 ·689). Plate XVIII, fig. 1.

The "stone house of the cats" is marked on the six-inch map in its proper place, but its name is not recorded. It is incorporated with the boundary fence of the field to the northward of the ceallúrach just described (K 2). The structure was two-chambered, but the relation which the two chambers had one to the other is not apparent, and they must therefore be treated as separate structures. The plan (Pl. XVIII, fig. i) shows their relative positions.

K 4*a*. A circular chamber 11 feet in diameter: the wall is 4 feet 5 inches thick; three feet of the height of the wall remains for the greater part of the circle: the rest has completely disappeared. The whole plan can, however, be traced, as the floor of the chamber is lower in level than the surrounding field. The wall oversails 6 inches in the height which still exists. The entrance seems to have faced the east, but it is blocked and defaced.

K 4*b*. This lies to the north-east of K 4*a*, and is much less well preserved. About half the plan remains—an arc with a chord of 11 feet 4 inches, and a sagitta of 4 feet 6 inches.

* It was so standing in 1846. See Windele's MSS. "Iar Mumhan" (MSS. R.I.A., No. 573), p. 472: he gives a careful sketch.

We shall meet with another instance of cat nomenclature at Glenfahan (G 32). It is found elsewhere in the barony (as for instance the earth-mound called *Cathair na gCat* at Ballywiheen, near Ballyferriter, and another, similarly named, at Ballynana, in the parish of Kilmalkedar), and is of course universal throughout the country.

K 4. Clochán an Phúca (7 ·587). Plate XVIII, fig. ii.

This important and interesting structure stands north-west of K 3. The name is erroneously applied, on the new as well as the old Ordnance map, to the structure here called K 5; this, the true "Púca's clochán," as I was assured by several of the people independently, stands by the side of a bothairín, and is a conspicuous object for some distance. It is 14 feet 3 inches in internal diameter, with a wall 5 feet thick. The entrance faces E.S.E.; its height is 3 feet; its breadth externally 3 feet 1½ inches at the bottom, 2 feet 8 inches at the top, tapering internally to 2 feet 9 inches at the bottom, 2 feet 1 inch at the top: it is roofed with three lintel stones in the thickness of the wall. The greatest vertical height of wall standing is on the north-west side—6 feet 7 inches; in this height the oversail of the wall amounts to 3 feet 5 inches. Close to this point is a cupboard recess 1 foot 9 inches from the ground, 1 foot 6 inches across, and 1 foot 10 inches deep. The wall is well and neatly built.

There are traces of a terrace leading to the entrance of this clochán. At a distance of 22 feet 2 inches from the outer face of the doorway are two standing stones, respectively 3 feet 11 inches and 3 feet 5½ inches in height, and 2 feet 8 inches apart. A third, 2 feet 8 inches high, stands between the right-hand stone (facing the clochán) and the building, 3 feet from the former. These stones, the position of which is marked on the ground plan, have every appearance of being the surviving members of an avenue.

K 5. Clochán (6 1·335).

This is the structure known as "Cloghaunaphuca" to the makers of the Ordnance map. It does not appear in reality to possess any distinctive name. Its dimensions bear a striking resemblance to those of K 4, which is close to it; the identity of the diameter (14 feet 3 inches in each case) can hardly be an accidental coincidence—probably the two structures were set out by the same man with the same rod. The walls are about 5 feet thick; the greatest height remaining is 5 feet 5 inches, in which the walls oversail 3 feet 4 inches. At the entrance, facing E.S.E., the wall is level with the ground; and the doorway, which was about 3 feet 6 inches wide, cannot be traced without difficulty.

There is a flat stone lying in this clochán with two deep (natural) channels surrounding it. This would be useful for fastening a rope round: a similar stone, with a single channel *cut* in it, is found in *Clochán na "trasnuig"* at Ballynavenooragh, on the western slope of Brandon mountain.

While I was taking the dimensions of the clochán, the friends in whose company I visited the Kilvickadownig remains, Mr. Curran, the National schoolmaster of Ventry, and Mr. Long, also of Ventry, turned over some of the stones and *débris* inside the area of the chamber. At a very short distance from the surface they came upon a mass of midden refuse. Limpet

shells were abundant, periwinkles in less numbers, and there was one scallop-shell so far as we examined the heap. Mingled with these were a few bones of animals; a small goat, a rabbit, and a sheep were represented.

* K 6. CATHAIR NA MAOILINE (6 36·630).

I understand that the "Maoilin" (Mweelin) is the name of the knoll or spur on the south of Mount Eagle. On its eastern slope lies part of Kilvickadownig townland, while its southern slope bears the eastern portion of Fahan. From Fahan, a narrow road called *Bothairín na Maoiline* leads up its side.

Near the summit of the Maoilin is the extraordinary collection of tiny chambers known as the Cathair, or fort of the Maoilin. All are in a sad state of dilapidation. The annexed plan shows their relative positions. It has been found necessary to exaggerate the size of the structures considerably, as they are so small in comparison with the distances between them that a uniform scale could not conveniently be adopted. The scale annexed to the plan refers to relative position (centre point to centre point) only.

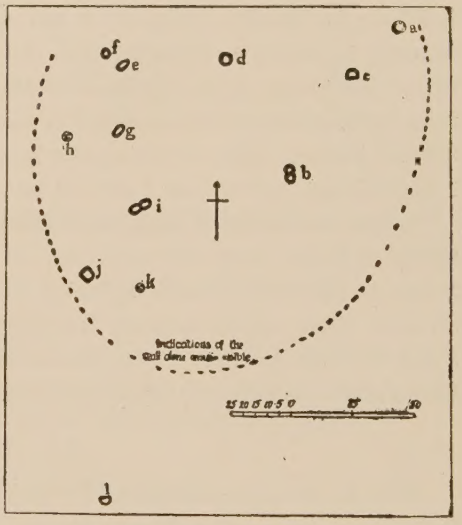

FIG. 4.—Cathair na Maoiline.

K 6*a*. A circular chamber, 4 feet 7 inches in diameter; wall 3 feet 6 inches thick; entrance faces S.S.E., 1 foot 5 inches wide.

K 6*b*. A double clochán: northern chamber 4 feet 3 inches in diameter, with entrance facing S.S.E.; southern chamber about 6 feet across.

K 6*c*. A D-shaped chamber, the straight side lying east and west, and 6 feet in length; cross diameter about 6 feet; entrance at the eastern end of the straight side, 2 feet 3 inches in height; 1 foot 6 inches across, and 1 foot 3 inches in depth.

K 6*d*. A circular chamber filled with *débris;* diameter probably 5 feet; entrance facing S.E.: its dimensions cannot be ascertained. There are traces of another chamber to the east.

K 6*e*. An oval chamber, the long axis (W.S.W. and E.N.E.) being 5 feet in length; width of chamber 3 feet 6 inches. The door is at the E.N.E. end; its width was about 1 foot 9 inches.

K 6*f*. A circular chamber about 6 feet in diameter. The entrance faced east; its dimensions cannot now be recovered.

K 6*g*. A long oval clochán, 8 feet 9 inches long (E.N.E. to W.S.W.); 2 feet 9 inches wide; entrance at northern end of eastern side, 2 feet 6 inches across.

K 6*h*. A circular clochán, now reduced to a shapeless pile of stones.

K 6*i*. A double clochán, the chambers lying in a line E.N.E. to W.S.W. This structure was built of large stones; the entire building is 17 feet in length and 7 feet in breadth; the chambers are so distorted and filled with *débris* that reliable dimensions cannot be taken of them individually. The entrance, facing S.E. leads to the eastern chamber; it is 1 foot 9 inches high, 1 foot 2 inches across, 1 foot 10 inches deep.

K 6*j*. A quadrilateral structure with angles rounded. The length (W.S.W. to E.N.E.) is 6 feet; the breadth 4 feet 3 inches. The entrance, at the south end of the western side, is 1 foot across.

K 6*k*. A shapeless pile of stones, no doubt once a clochán.

The above structures are surrounded by the remains of a boundary wall enclosing a space measuring 202 feet north to south, 142 feet east to west—with the exception of Páirc a' dúna, the field attached to Dún Beag (F 9), by far the largest enclosed space in the settlement.

K 6*l* is outside the enclosing wall, 49 feet south of it. It is a chamber formed by building up a curved wall against two large rock-faces sloping outwards, in their natural position, from the hillside. The chamber measures 12 feet east to west, 3 feet 6 inches north to south. East of it is the site of another chamber.

K 7. Clochán an Árdáin (6 103·230). Plate XXV, fig. i.

The "stone house of the height" (I have heard it called also *Clochán Árd*, "the high stone house") is a group of four structures, situated at about 1000 feet up the southern slope of Mount Eagle.

K 7*a*. This most interesting structure is a large circular chamber, much ruined: the floor is filled with *débris*, which seems to have been re-arranged to adapt the whole as a sheepfold. At the observable height (3 feet 6 inches above the original floor), the diameter is 12 feet 3 inches. The wall is 3 feet 7 inches thick. There is the foundation of a second chamber on the southern side, 4 feet 4 inches from north to south, 7 feet 6 inches from east to west. This chamber had an independent entrance, 1 foot 6 inches across, facing east.

The ruined condition of this clochán obscures a unique feature. Entrance to the larger chamber seems to have been gained by a passage formed of flags set on edge and lintelled over—like a souterrain above ground, if the oxymoron be permitted—which ran from outside, through the wall, to the northern part of the inside area of the chamber: a total length of some 15 feet. This passage strongly recalls the entrances to Eskimo huts. It is shown in the plate.

K 7*b* lies E.N.E. of K 7*a*, and 30 feet from it. It is a plain, apparently circular building, about 7 feet in internal diameter. The door faces south-east, and is 2 feet 6 inches high, 1 foot 9 inches across, and 3 feet deep. The oversail is very irregular, ranging from 1 foot 3 inches in 3 feet 6 inches to 9 inches in 4 feet.

K 7*c* is S.S.E. of K 7*a*, and 30 feet from it. It is oval on plan; the major axis (N.W. and S.E.) is 10 feet 3 inches in length, the minor axis 7 feet. The doorway seems to have faced E.N.E.

K 7*d* was apparently an oval clochán, but it is now a shapeless ruin. It is 55 feet S.W. of K 7*a*.

There are traces of a wall surrounding these remains, enclosing a roughly circular space about 122 feet in diameter.

*K 8. CLOCHÁN (*ib.*)

This chamber is in the middle of the moorland, some distance north-westwards of K 7. It is almost entirely underground, and is overgrown with heather, so that it might easily be overlooked. It was most probably intended as a hiding-place.

The structure is perfect, 9 feet 4 inches long (S.S.E. to N.N.W.), and 4 feet 2 inches broad, 4 feet 8 inches high at the highest point. The entrance is at the S.S.E. end.

K 9. LIOS (11 ·574).

This magnificent fortress is a striking object on the right-hand side of the road, soon after the scattered village of Kilvickadownig is passed, and shortly before the road joins the cliff-side. It is a circular mound, surrounded by a deep entrenchment, and containing a space 104 feet in maximum diameter: the entrance faces east. As will be seen in the annexed plan, there are earthen hillocks resembling the foundations of buildings within the area.

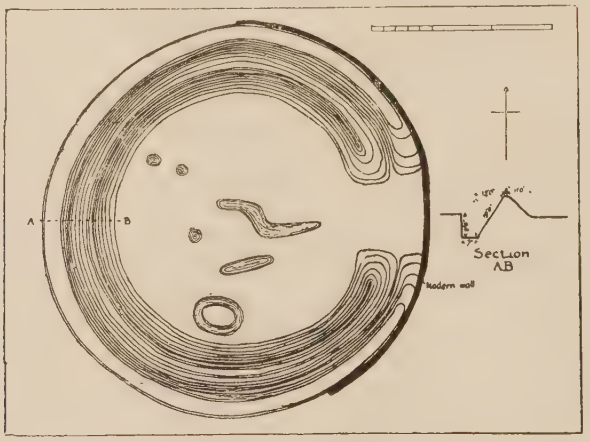

FIG. 5.—Lios at Kilvickadownig. (The scale is graduated into spaces of 25 feet, and lesser divisions of 5 feet).

K 10. PÁIRC NA CROISE (11 ·625).

"The Field of the Cross"—*Parknacrusha* on the Ordnance map—takes its name from a stone cross standing on a conical heap of stones. This is a plain Greek cross, roughly cut out of the stone; on one face is a vertical channel running up the stem, and a horizontal channel running across the keys: there is no other attempt at ornament. Close beside this cross is a large flat slab lying against the boundary hedge of the field; on its concealed face is incised a cross with expanding ends. The field is probably the site of a ceallúrach, though there does not seem to be any tradition to support such a theory.

To the west of the cross first described is a lios or ring-mound of earth, much ruined and

abraded. There is a grave-like enclosure marked by two rows of stones set on edge within its precincts. These rows of stones are parallel, the one being at the south side of the lios, the other 7 feet north from it: there is a third, in the south wall itself, 3 feet from the first mentioned. They run for a length of 10 feet, and the space between them appears to have been closed by a stone at the ends.

The dimensions of these objects are as follows :—Standing cross, 1 foot 6 inches above the pile of stones, width of keys 1 foot 3 inches. Incised cross, 1 foot 2 inches long, 9 inches across, cut on a slab 5 feet 3 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches wide. Lios, internal diameter, 60 feet; a mound extends for a distance of 57 feet southwards from it.

TOWNLAND OF FAHAN

F 1. Clochán (10 ·710).

This is a large quadruple clochán, much damaged, and partly turfed and grass-grown. The northernmost chamber is D-shaped, with the straight side to the north, running N.W. and S.E., 6 feet long; the other diameter of the chamber is 7 feet 6 inches. There is an adjacent chamber to the south-east, the wall of which is formed by the continuation beyond the partition of the curved side of the first-mentioned apartment: this second chamber is heaped up with stones and obscured. The third chamber is to the south of the second: it was rectangular on plan, the long sides measuring 11 feet, and lying N.N.W. and S.S.E. In the south corner of the structure is a circular chamber 10 feet in diameter. There may have been a fifth between the first and fourth apartments, but in the ruinous condition of the clochán this is doubtful.

†F 2. Clochán (10 1·280).

The foundation of a multiple clochán with apparently four or five chambers running north and south. At one part 2 feet 8 inches of the wall remain. The northernmost chamber was an oval, the long axis running north and south; but all is so obscure that little can be said about the building.

†F 3. Lios (10 ·728)

A large circular lios, much abraded. The diameter was about 70 feet. In the centre are the sites of two large circular chambers, the first to the north, 22 feet in diameter, entered by a door on the south-east side; the second to the south-west, 17 feet across. There was a communication between these chambers.

F 4. Clochán group, &c. (10 ·779).

This group has disappeared, and left no record save the conventionalities of the Ordnance map. It seems to have consisted of seven clocháns; to judge from the minute plan of them in the six-inch map, they appear to have been single-chambered, and to have had their entrances facing east.

Immediately south-west of these is the vallum of a lios, still partly traceable.

Further to the south-west two groups of galláns, or standing stones, are marked even on

the recent twenty-five inch map, surveyed in 1894. The group to the north has disappeared; it apparently contained three stones, two in a line east and west, and the third immediately south of these. The southern group is still existing: it consists of two stones, respectively 3 feet 1 inch, and 2 feet 4 inches in height, 3 feet 2 inches apart, standing on a low ridge of ground, seemingly an ancient boundary of some kind, which runs N.N.E. and S.S.W.

*F 5. CLOCHÁN (10 1·278).

The six-inch map shows a clochán in the northern boundary of this field, but it has now disappeared.

*F 6. CLOCHÁN (10 ·995).

Denoted in the southern boundary of this field in the six-inch map, close by the road. There is no trace of it now to be seen.

*F 7. CIST? (*ib.*)

A structure consisting of four slabs of stone set on edge. The first is 4 feet long, and stands east and west; the second is 3 feet 3 inches, running south-east from the eastern end of the first; the third is 5 feet long, running southward from the south-eastern end of the second; and the fourth, which crosses the third at right angles at its southern end, is 3 feet long. The purpose of this object is by no means clear.

†F 8. CLOCHÁN (10 1·120).

A large multiple clochán, much dilapidated, turfed, and grass-grown. There were at least five chambers, that to the north being quadrilateral, 13 feet across north to south, 18 feet east to west. There are remains of a souterrain, no longer possible to enter, nearly five feet deep. The grassy mound which represents this structure is 95 feet long, north to south.

F 9. DÚN BEAG (10 ·321). Plates XIX, XX, and XXIII, fig. i.

The structure now to be described, notwithstanding its name ("the little fort") is by far the most important in the entire series, and is one of the most striking and interesting of the prehistoric antiquities of Ireland, if not of Europe. Its colossal wall gives at first sight a powerful impression of rude brute strength; but the ingenious system of defences which are revealed on a closer examination show at the same time evidence of intellect and thought.

It is much to be regretted that this structure, after it was scheduled, with five other buildings in the settlement, as a national monument, was not left in the condition to which time had reduced it. It now tells a tale more clearly to the casual visitor than it did formerly; but it is questionable whether to the eye of the practised archæologist the remains were not more intelligible in their ruinous than they are in their restored form.

Never having had an opportunity of seeing this fort before it was restored, I am compelled to take and to describe the structure as I find it. I shall then refer to the descriptions left by previous visitors, and leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions.

Dún Beag consists essentially of a stone wall, cutting off a promontory, and protected on the landward side by an elaborate system of earthen walls and trenches. In describing it I

shall first give an account of the space enclosed and its contents; then of the protecting wall; and finally of the earthen outworks. All considerations of the special object for which this fortress was built are postponed to the concluding portion of this paper. A plan is given on Plate XIX.

1. The *area enclosed* is, on its upper surface, triangular in shape, bounded on the seaward sides by great precipices. The triangle is scalene, the south-eastern side being by about 50 feet the longer. The western, or rather south-western, side is a sheer precipice, and large portions of its surface every now and then fall into the sea. Indeed there is no hope that the whole of this fortress will not at some time be entirely swallowed up by the encroachments of the ocean. The south point and the south-eastern side are less steep, and are grass-grown for some distance down from the top. The height of the fortress is about 90–100 feet above the sea-level.

Access from the sea to the fort, except to an expert cliff-climber, is thus impossible, save by one route. To the east of the promontory is a creek called *Cús a' dúna**—"the creek of the fort." East of this again is a headland in which the cliff slopes gently to the shore, so as to be scaled without difficulty. The shore itself is rocky and dangerous; but a curious cleft, with straight parallel sides, affords a safe landing-place, and is used as such by the fishermen inhabiting the district. This inlet is known as *Cús 'a bhád**—"the creek of the boats"—and is locally regarded as artificial: a theory to which the regularity of the sides of the inlet affords some superficial justification. It would be possible and fairly easy to run a boat into Cús 'a bhád, to land and climb the cliff above it (which is set at a comparatively gentle slope), and to walk round the top of Cús a' dúna; along the edge of the cliff there is no permanent barrier to prevent an entrance into the precincts of the fort. To these details we shall return in the sequel.

The edge of the cliff was protected by a dry-stone wall of which a fragment about 18 feet in length remains at the south point. This wall is 2 feet 2 inches thick. Underneath the extant fragment is a grass-grown platform on the face of the cliff, which seems to have borne a small structure of some kind: a slab of stone projecting outwards, 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet by 4 inches remains to testify to this; it apparently formed the starting point of an enclosing wall.

It is probable that temporary structures of wood or earth were erected on the area of the fort. These have naturally disappeared, if they ever existed. One stone building remains, and to the east of it there is evidence pointing doubtfully to the existence of another, marked on the plan by a plain circle.

Externally the remaining building is circular on plan, the diameter being between 36 and 37 feet. It is a simple one-chambered building; the chamber is square on plan with sides very slightly curved. It is oriented almost to the cardinal points, the entrance being to the north. The west side is 23 feet 6 inches in length; the north half an inch, the remaining sides an inch longer. The plan is thus the most mathematically exact figure—the considerable length of

* I have given these names as I heard them pronounced, but they ought to be *Cús an dhúine* and *Cús na mbád*, respectively.

the sides being taken into account—of any in the settlement not being a perfect circle. Throughout the building is constructed with two fair faces filled in with rubble.

Assuming (as for the present I am, by the plan I have laid down, compelled to assume) that the structure as it is to be seen to-day represents the conception of the original architect, we learn from the position of the stones in the north-east angle of the chamber that at a height of 6 feet 9 inches from the ground occurred the base of a circular dome which roofed in the chamber—using the term "dome" in the free sense which has reference to form rather than to construction. At this angle the walls as they now stand attain their greatest height; and at the top a stone is set obliquely across the angle as though to stop it.

The floor of the clochán is covered by a great pile of small stones which was there even before the restorations. These prevent our being able to state definitely whether there are any signs of internal division inside the chamber. Against the south side of the chamber are two pits in the floor; these are probably of no importance. Their sites are indicated on the plan.

The doorway is in the middle of the northern side. This is 7 feet 3½ inches in depth; its internal height is slightly over 5 feet; its breadth 4 feet 1 inch at the bottom, 3 feet 9 inches at the top. Its external height is 5 feet 3 inches; its breadth 3 feet 3 inches at the bottom, 2 feet 5 inches at the top. The floor is flagged with three large wide flags. The fair faces of the walls are returned along the jambs of the door; in each jamb an upright flagstone is inserted at the line on which they meet. The internal face is recessed so that a reveal for a movable door is left, lined by the flagstone just mentioned. This rebate is carried round the head of the door by stepping the lintel downwards. It will be noticed that notwithstanding this feature the external height of the door exceeds the internal; this is explained by the manner in which the external lintel is tilted.

The movable door for which this reveal was prepared was about 2½ inches thick. Behind this are the bolt-holes at a height of 2 feet from the ground. Their cross-dimensions are 11 inches and 9 inches, respectively; the eastern hole is 1 foot 2½ inches deep; but I was unable to touch the back of the other hole with a five-foot rod held at arm's length.

On each side of the entrance, externally, there are remains of projecting piers or pilasters. Of that on the western side there are more considerable remains than of its fellow. This is 1 foot 3 inches high, 2 feet 4½ inches thick.

[The above paragraphs were written after I had surveyed the fort in December, 1897. When in April of the following year I revisited the site I found that the whole pier had been destroyed, the flagstones in the floor of the entrance to the chamber rooted up, the water-drain, to be presently described, partly pulled to pieces, and other damage done by boys in hunting hares. I was an eye-witness of the recklessness with which stones are pulled about by an excited crowd when there is any reason to suspect that an unfortunate hare has taken refuge behind them. Remonstrance in such a case is of course perfectly useless.]

From the external face of the clochán a series of flat stones project for about a foot horizontally at irregular intervals. There are ten of these on the northern and eastern sides, and one only on the western. Such projecting stones have already been alluded to (see the account of the clochán in the article K 2).

We now come to a very singular, and, so far as I know, unique feature of this clochán. Around the greater part of it, at an average distance of 3 feet 3 inches from the walls, is a water-drain 10½ inches deep, and 1 foot wide. It is well built, and covered with lintels. It starts 12 feet east of the eastern jamb of the entrance, and runs round westwards; when it reaches the west point of the clochán it runs off tangentially and makes straight for the fragment of the boundary wall above described. The end of the drain is blocked by this wall.

A flagged causeway about 3 feet 9 inches wide leads northward from the entrance of the clochán: where it crosses the drain it deflects to the N.N.W., and is directed to the main entrance of the fort—a distance of 37 feet 6 inches.

East of the clochán is a floor of stones, already briefly mentioned, grass-grown and almost obliterated. This may be mere *débris*, but it resembles the site of a circular clochán about 18 feet in diameter.

Parallel to the main wall, and 15 feet from it is a grassy ridge, most prominently marked at the western end. This resembles the remains of a second line of defence, but in reality it is nothing more than the edge of the mass of *débris* built up again in the course of restoration upon the main wall.

2. The *great wall* must now occupy our attention. We shall first describe the original structure; then the addition that at some time was made to it; and, finally, the chambers within it, and the entrance. It is necessary to repeat that I am at present describing the wall as I have seen it, without expressing an opinion as to its identity with the wall left by the original builders.

The original portion (shaded on the plan by cross-hatching) is 139 feet 6 inches long, and its width varies from 8 to 11 feet. It is constructed with two fair faces, like the clochán. The internal face batters by very irregular stages from 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet 6 inches in height, marked off by terraces projecting on an average 1 foot 6 inches. These terraces, no doubt, served the purpose of steps to enable the defenders to mount the walls for the purpose of reconnoitring. Another wall (shaded from right to left) was built against the main wall on its landward face at some time subsequent to the original construction. The new wall, though in contact with the old throughout, is not bonded to it in any place. It is 1 foot 3 inches lower than the main wall, and very irregular in width. At one place in the eastern portion it is level with the ground for a distance of 33 feet 10½ inches; it then recommences, and runs to the eastern end of the wall, which it rounds, being returned, as shown on the ground-plan, for about 30 feet at right angles to the line of the main wall. This additional wall is 6 feet 6 inches high. It stands on a plinth with a set-off of 4 feet.

In the whole of the earlier architecture of Ireland I know of no more remarkable work than the imposing entrance through this great wall (Plate XXIII, fig. i). Including the later addition, the thickness of the wall is here 22 feet. The other leading dimensions are: landward face, height of doorway, 4 feet 4 inches; width at the bottom 3 feet 6 inches, at the top 2 feet 2 inches. Seaward face, height of doorway, 6 feet 10½ inches; width at the bottom, 6 feet 10 inches; maximum width, 7 feet 2 inches; width at the top, 4 feet 3 inches. In the original design of the entrance a barrel-shape was given to the sides by

corbelling the building-stones first backward to recede and then forward to approach. This very artistic effect was not reproduced in the later part of the wall, so that the door of the landward face is of the type commonly called "Cyclopean." Generally speaking, the stones at the bottom of the side walls of the entrance passage are larger than those at the top.

Eight very large lintel-stones roof the entrance. The fifth from the seaward face is approximately 6 feet 6 inches long, 4 feet 3 inches broad, and 6 inches thick. At some time this stone, which must have been the external lintel of the original work, became cracked through. To support the broken end, a pier, 3 feet 6 inches thick, was built up of large stones against the eastern jamb of the door, and on the seaward side was buttressed by a series of ascending steps, leading up from the ground at the seaward doorway to the roof at the cracked lintel. The position of the landward doorway at the western side of the entrance gangway, and its side, shows it to be later in date than the pier. A reveal is formed for the reception of a movable door, 3 feet 6 inches in from the landward entrance. This reveal is lined with a flag-stone at each side. There are two bolt-holes behind the place of this door; they are at the same level, but not exactly opposite one another. The western hole is 7 feet deep; at its inner extremity it communicates with a funnel-shaped opening, which is formed in the additional portion of the wall. The top of this opening is in shape the segment of a circle, 4 feet 4 inches in diameter (east to west), and 3 feet 9 inches, north to south: the sides taper to a depth of 2 feet 8 inches: the bottom is flagged over, but an irregular hole breaks into the bolt-hole. The purpose of this opening was probably the insertion of a block to prevent the bolt from being shot back. It is obvious that with a movable door bolted on the inside, *either* there must have been an armhole in the door or some other method of rendering the fastenings accessible from the outside; *or* else there must have been a garrison continually within the fort to open the door when necessary, in order that persons friendly to the defenders could enter. This block-hole seems intended to prevent enemies from making use of the means of opening the fort from the outside; and possibly leads to the inference that the first of these alternatives is to be chosen in preference to the second. The bolt-hole on the eastern side is divided into two by a horizontal slab a little distance in; the lower portion is 2 feet 9 inches deep; the upper runs inward for a depth of 7 feet, and communicates with the eastern chamber in the wall. On the landward side there are two small standing stones, which carry the line of the westward jamb forward a little to the north.*

Lying against the eastern jamb of the seaward entrance is a stone perforated near one end with a circular hole. It was conjectured—I believe by Windele—that this was meant to receive the projecting horn of a wooden door; such a door as that from Robenhausen, figured in Keller's "Lake Dwellings," Pl. CXLIX. This is possible; but not probable, as we have evidence that the other doors of the fort were not hinged or rotating doors, but movable boards (or, perhaps, slabs of stone), secured by stout bolts against a reveal; and also because

* A plan of the entrance is shown on fig. iv, and a section, looking westward, in fig. i, of Plate XX. The section line is not carried straight across the wall, but bent at right angles to avoid the western chamber, and thus to show the solidity of the wall.

hinged doors in primitive Ireland seem to have been hung from the top, as was the case at Gallerus oratory and other places. The possibility of the stone having a religious purpose must not be overlooked; but we are so entirely ignorant on the subject of "holed stones" that it would be unwise to pin faith at present to a definite theory. The dimensions of this very interesting object are: length, 4 feet 3 inches; breadth, 2 feet 4½ inches; thickness, 3 inches; diameter of perforation, 4½ inches.

The western chamber in the main wall* presents some interesting features. It is entered by an opening on the seaward face of the wall, 2 feet 3 inches square, 4 feet 7½ inches from the west jamb of the principal entrance. The floor of the chamber remains at the level of the bottom of this opening throughout; the roof rises from the entrance to the back wall, to a maximum height of 4 feet 4½ inches. The walls diverge inwards, so that the width of the back wall at the floor is 3 feet; and converge upwards, so that the width of the same wall at the roofing lintel is 2 feet 8 inches. From the entrance to the back wall is a distance of 10 feet. The purpose of this chamber is obvious on a little inspection. There is a narrow peep-hole, like the "hagioscope" in a mediæval church, through which a person stationed in the chamber could command the landward entrance. Should the enemy succeed in beating down the door, the guard was prepared to shoot a barrier across the entrance, and so to prevent the fort from being taken by a rush. This barrier, when not in use, lay in a horizontal shaft 4 feet 6 inches deep, penetrating into the west wall of the chamber; opposite this is a similar shaft communicating with the entrance passages through which shaft the barrier was shot. This communication is 1 foot 6 inches high, 1 foot 3 inches across, and 2 feet 1½ inches from the floor of the entrance gangway. In the opposite side of the entrance gangway is the shallow socket in which the end of the barrier fitted when in use. These arrangements are shown in the plan of the chambers, Plate XX, fig. iv.

The eastern chamber was probably intended as a guard-room, and it was provided with a peep-hole through which persons entering the landward doorway could be seen. This, however, was blocked and rendered useless by the pier built in the entrance gangway, and by the new works. The chamber is entered by an opening similar to that which gives access to the apartment on the other side. In plan, however, the two differ widely. Here a passage, 4 feet 3 inches long, and of cross-dimensions similar to those of the opening, leads into the chamber; this measures 5 feet in width, 6 feet 6 inches north to south, and 6 feet 6 inches in maximum height. See the section, Plate XX, fig. v.

The souterrain of the fort, when I first visited it, was accessible through an opening broken in the roof a few feet from the wall on the landward side. I afterwards, however, found the hole blocked up by a great stone wedged in, so that it was no longer possible to enter. It trends slightly west of north: the walls are built up of small stones, and the roof is formed of lintels in the ordinary manner. It runs in a straight course for a distance of 45 feet, the entrance referred to above being 36 feet from the northern end. The height under the entrance is 4 feet 6 inches; towards each end the floor rises, thus reducing the height considerably. At the southern end there is a deflexion leading to another portion

* See the section, Plate XX, fig. iii.

of the souterrain, running some distance under the entrance gangway. This portion of the passage is 8 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches across, and 1 foot 6 inches high. Extravagant legends of the original length of this passage are told by the peasantry: the popular belief is that it ran up to Teampull Beag (F 14) or its neighbourhood. I was shown a spot in the village of Fahan where a man happened to break into a cave—perhaps the souterrain of some building, long since razed without other record—which the neighbours at once concluded was the termination of the souterrain, thereby ascribing to it the unheard-of length of 1250 feet. This spot is among the modern buildings denoted on the twenty-five inch map (LII, 10), immediately west of the field marked ·329, above the "H" of the word "Ballinvoher." The entrance to the souterrain is indicated on the plan. Its northern extremity is denoted by an asterisk.

3. We must now turn to the *defences on the landward side*. They consist of an alternation of fosse and vallum. It is unnecessary to give more than the following descriptive notes of them, as the plan shows all the features of interest. The diagram shows the relative heights of the mounds and the depth of the trenches between them.

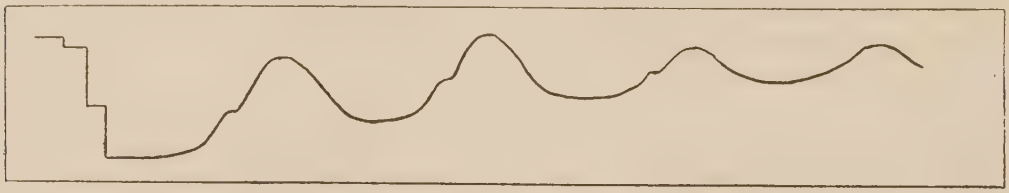

FIG. 6.—Section through the earth-mounds, Dún Beag.

(*a*) *Fosse*, next to the stone wall. It is divided in two by the raised causeway to the door in the great wall, in which causeway the souterrain is formed. West of this is a curious sunken cell, lined with dry-stone masonry, the purpose of which is very obscure.

(*b*) *Vallum*. Two standing stones remain of the eastern jamb of the entrance; behind them are piled up some horizontal slabs. In one of these a semicircular notch has been cut out of the edge; the diameter of the notch is just under 4 inches. I found a similar notched stone lying on the top of the main wall toward the westward end. [I regret to be compelled to add to the above, written after my visit in December, 1897, that in April, 1898, I found that this portion of the defences had been shockingly maltreated; the notched stone I could not find, it having become hidden under a pile of others that had been pulled down over it.] This and the other mounds show evident signs of having been built with terraces on the seaward side and with sloping ascents here and there to aid in scaling them.

(*c*) *Fosse*; as in (*a*) the ground rises to the central passage. In the western half the fosse is crossed obliquely by two insignificant ridges, between which is a small pile of stones of no importance.

(*d*) *Vallum*. This wall runs along the base of the triangular tongue of land on which the fort is built. Part of the stone-lined entrance remains. An opening has been recently cut in this, and the preceding vallum, near the eastern end, to afford an easy entrance for cattle.

(*e*) *Fosse*. In the western portion there is a low mound resembling a grave.

(*f*) *Vallum.* This wall is curtailed remarkably at the eastern end. There is a broad, flat triangular mound at the east, against which runs the modern wall.

(*g*) *Fosse.* In the western portion of this fosse, also, there seems to be a grave. Further east there lies what seems to have been a small pillar-stone, now fallen and partly embedded in the earth.

(*h*) Outermost *Vallum.* A short portion is stone-faced.

From the fort two walls run in a north-westerly direction up the hillside, extending respectively for about a sixth and a fifth of a mile. These, with the wall joining their upper extremities, enclose a field called *Páirc a' dúna**—"the field of the fort." There can be little question that this formed part of the original scheme of the fort. There were some remains, now destroyed (F 26), in the northern portion of the field. Within the last eight years the enclosure has been sub-divided into a large number of small fields, so that its original boundary has become lost in a multiplicity of subordinate walls. It is now impossible for a stranger to distinguish the old from the new, without the aid of a native: the following list of the acreages of the fields into which Páirc a' dúna has been divided, will enable the archæologist to trace it upon the twenty-five inch map:—

North of the road—2·234, 2·241, 2·201.

South of the road—·510, 1·766, 1·541, 1·626, 1·645, 1·676.

We have now described Dún Beag as the restorers have left it. Before passing from it for the present it will be necessary to examine the accounts left by previous writers, as from these sources alone can we determine the nature of recent works on the site.

First, in order comes the six-inch Ordnance map, surveyed 1841–2. We must not attach too much importance to its evidence in matters of detail, as of course it was not intended to be a guide to minute and delicate points in field archæology. But the following particulars are worth noticing. The plan of the fort as shown in miniature upon the map, resembles a capital A, with the apex pointing southward, and with the eastern "arm" rather shorter than the western. The stone wall forms the "cross-stroke" of the A, and does not reach from cliff to cliff. The "arms" are built up, parallel to the natural sides of the promontory, but nowhere touching them. The earth-mounds fill up the space north of the "cross-stroke," but the two to the north do not run the whole way across, being stopped half-way. Another remarkable point about this representation of the fort is that the clochán south of the fort is shown as a square building.

In the unfortunate absence of any particulars about the fort in O'Donovan's letters, by which to check the trustworthiness of this plan, it is impossible to estimate its value. We must remember that the draughtsman himself probably never saw the fort. Nevertheless, we may fairly regard his representation of a boundary wall running round the seaward sides of the triangular promontory as founded on the actual facts as they existed in his day. An enlarged copy of this plan is added to Plate XIX.

* Recté *dhúine.*

John Windele, in Sept. 1848, describes this fortress at some length.* After noticing its position, he states that:—"It consists of a front wall of considerable length . . . formed of Cyclopean masonry, uncemented, and extends in a straight line. It is 8 feet thick, and, at present, owing to a variety of causes, little more than 6 feet in height.

"It has a double, broad, deep fosse in front, with earthen vallum between, and in its centre a doorway accessible by a flagged passage across the fosse. The portal is about 4 feet in height, and 5 in breadth; it is covered with vast flag-stones and extends inwards (a covered passage) 24 feet. At its west side are two 'creeps' ('crypts' in drawing).

"In the centre of the enclosed area is a circular clochaun, once dome-roofed, but now very ruinous. It contains several chambers, some of oblong form. It was built of vast stone blocks, and the wall, which is 8 feet thick, is uncemented.†

"In the fosse, as we emerged from the interior, I saw the sought-for hole-stone. It is a coarse flag of sandstone, irregular, from 4 feet 4 inches long, 2 feet 5 inches broad, the perforation is towards the upper or broader extremity, and is 4½ inches diameter."

On a later visit,‡ he adds that the ruinous clochán contained "two chambers, one 16 feet by 5 feet to the east, and at present only 5 feet high. The western chamber is smaller; its doorway and gallery are complete, forming a passage 6 feet long, 3 feet broad, and 3 feet high." He describes the rampart as, "from shore to shore," about 280 feet long. "Fronting the door is a passage covered with slabs whose upper surface is even with the ground. It is said to extend a considerable distance outside the Doon."

We now turn to the third source of information—Du Noyer's paper, referred to in the opening paragraphs of the present account of the settlement.

"This remarkable fort," says Du Noyer, "has been formed by separating the extreme point of an angular headland from the main shore by a massive stone wall, constructed without cement, from 15 to 25 feet in thickness, and extending 200 feet in length from cliff to cliff. This wall is pierced near its middle by a passage (B),§ which is flagged overhead, the doorway to which is at present 3 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet wide at top, and 3 feet at its present base, having a lintel of 7 feet in length; as the passage recedes from the doorway it widens to 8 feet, and becomes arched overhead: to the right hand, and constructed in the thickness of the wall is a rectangular room (*d*)—perhaps a guard-room—measuring about 10 feet by 6 feet, and communicating with the passage by means of a low square opening, opposite to which, in the passage, is a broad bench-like seat (*c*); a second guard-room (*e*), similar to the one just described, has been constructed in the thickness of the wall, on the left hand of the main entrance, but unconnected with it, the access to this being from the area of the fort, through a low square opening.

"The Caher wall, on the exterior face at each side of the entrance doorway, has been strengthened by an additional layer of masonry about 4 feet in depth, and 30 feet in length,

* "Iar Mumhan."—MSS., R.I.A., p. 472–4. I am indebted to Mr. T. J. Westropp for this extract and reference.

† In his section, he shows it as high as the ramparts, with a western door.

‡ "Supplement" MSS. R.I.A. (1859), p. 201.

§ These letters refer to Du Noyer's own plan, accompanying his Paper.

which bears, however, the appearance of an after-thought, as the face of the original wall is clearly distinguishable behind the outer work.

"In the thickness of the wall at each side of the entrance doorway (A), are long narrow passages (FF) formerly covered in, the uses of which are not apparent, as no original means of access to them are visible: similar passages are not uncommon in stone forts, Cashels, or Cahers. The interior face of the wall of Dunbeg recedes by a succession of steps which doubtless led to a parapet on the top.

"The details of the curious entrance will be better understood from the following plan and section,* which are on a larger scale :—

"As a further means of defence a series of three earthen mounds, with intervening fosses, have been thrown up outside this wall, having a pathway through them, leading in a direct line to the main entrance; at each point where this cuts the mounds, evidence remains to show that it passed through a stone gateway or passage (K and M) flagged overhead, and probably equal in length to the thickness of the mound; in the passage leading across the second fosse from the fort, an underground chamber (L) flagged overhead was constructed. .... In the interior of the Caher are the remains of several Cloghauns (I) the plans of which cannot now be traced with certainty; and on the west side are portions of a wall (H), along the edge of the cliff."

We have quoted Du Noyer at length, omitting only some geological observations and the description of Páirc a' dúna, because this is the most important pre-restoration account extant. It will be observed that there are numerous discrepancies between his account and plans and mine. I offer no comment upon them. Du Noyer describes the fort as he saw it in 1856; I as I saw it in 1896 and 1898. Leaving out differences in dimensions, and the configuration of the promontory, which may partly at least be accounted for by natural erosion, the points of contrast between the two descriptions may conveniently be set out in tabular form thus :—

Area of Fort.

1856.	1896–8.
1. Wall for some distance along western cliff and rounding south point.	No trace of wall on western cliff.
2. Clochán, a multiple structure, impossible to trace with certainty, but containing at least four chambers. (See also Windele's descriptions, which corroborate this.)	Clochán, a perfectly square chamber, wall rounded outside. Well-built up with good wall about 4ft. high. No trace of multiplicity of chambers.
3. No drain round clochán, and no causeway to entrance mentioned.	Both of these conspicuous features.

Great Wall.

1. Western chamber entered from side of entrance passage, and with no entrance from seaward face of wall.	Opening from western chamber to entrance passage too small for a man; entrance from seaward face of wall.

* See Du Noyer, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv (1858), pp. 2–5.

2. Eastern chamber without communication to entrance.	Two communications—both useless, as they bend in their course and are blocked —from eastern chamber to entrance.
3. Long narrow passages in the thickness of the wall.	Nothing of the kind now to be seen except bolt-holes.
4. The wall extending from cliff to cliff, and straight for its whole course.	The wall extending from the west cliff, but stopped and returned southward before reaching the east cliff. When I first visited the structure, in 1896, it was returned at the western end as well ; but the cliff, on which this portion stood, fell into the sea shortly afterwards.*
	Outer Works.
Traces of flagged entrances through the walls.	Nothing of the kind now to be seen.

Prof. Sullivan, in his introductory volume to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, vol. i, p. cccxiv, and Lord Dunraven, in his *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i, p. 20, reproduce Du Noyer's plan without question, though both had seen the fortress. Neither of these experienced antiquaries made any charge of inaccuracy against Du Noyer. The critical archæologist is unfortunately much handicapped in investigating the recent history of this remarkable structure. We have already found the Ordnance Survey Letters fail us ; we are doomed to another disappointment when we turn to Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*. The article bears evident traces of being written after a hasty visit (as his lordship admits his visit to have been), and is, for the most part, founded on Du Noyer. The following are the chief observations to which this article and the photograph accompanying it give rise :—

1. The stone wall "reaches from cliff to cliff, and cuts off the promontory from all communication with the mainland."

2. Lord Dunraven apparently did not see the "long narrow passages" of Du Noyer ; the reference to them in the latter writer's paper is inserted in brackets into the article by Miss Stokes, Lord Dunraven's editor.

3. The western chamber is still said to be entered from the entrance gangway. Nothing is said about an entrance from the seaward side. From Lord Dunraven's photograph it would appear that the whole seaward side of this chamber was fallen when he visited the place.

4. "There are several curious clochauns within the interior of this fort, they consist of angular chambers enclosed in circular buildings." This leaves the problem of the clochán more difficult to solve than ever.

* This recollection of mine having been called into question, I wrote to Mr. D'Arcy of Dingle for corroborative testimony. He says, in reply :—"The fort had hooks at both extremities. Within the last two years the western end has fallen with the cliff into the sea." See *infra*, for statement by Mr. Lynch, p. 340.

It is a pity that Lord Dunraven's photograph does not show a little more of the fort than actually appears; for as a record of the appearance of the fort before the restoration it is simply priceless. We learn, for instance, that the whole of the superstructure now above the lintels of the doorway—a piece of masonry 2 feet high—is modern. This leads us to desire to examine into the nature of the works done to the fort when it was scheduled as a national monument. We look in vain to the official report. At one time the reports bearing upon the Ancient Monuments were full, interesting, and well illustrated; but they have become meagre, and, in reference to the works at this important and valuable building, simply make a bald statement to the effect that "repairs have been carried out at Dunbeg." Nor does Sir T. Deane's paper in the *R.I.A. Proceedings* throw any further light on the question. The clochán is said to be "round on the exterior, square internally, certainly stone-roofed, with entrance and observation chambers." I confess myself unable to understand what the latter exactly are. We are also told that the wall extends from cliff to cliff [*nota bene*] for a distance of about 240 feet [it was 280 ft. on the occasion of Windele's second visit, 200 ft. in 1856, and 140 ft. in 1886]. The plan, however, which accompanies the paper, stops the wall short before reaching the cliff, and returns it southward at both ends.

I made some inquiries from inhabitants on the spot, some of whom had been employed in the restoration, as to the appearance of the structure before it had been submitted to the process. All agreed that the water-drain round the clochán existed previously; and that of the clochán itself nothing but the north wall could be traced with any certainty.* On the whole, they were less decided as to the evidence for the returning of the wall, though one man was positive about it having originally done so. On the other hand, Dr. E. P. Wright, who, as a trained observer, is entitled to attention, and who knew the remains from 1858 before they were interfered with, is equally clear that the wall was straight, and ran from cliff to cliff.

This lengthy excursus, which some may find tedious, has been considered necessary for more than one reason. That obvious discrepancies exist between the accounts of the older writers and the present condition of the fort is undeniable. We must gather either that the older writers display a singular amount of inaccuracy in dealing with this particular structure, or else that serious alterations have been made in its plan under the guise of "necessary repairs." Students, like myself, who never saw the fort before it was submitted to restoration are at a loss to decide which alternative to accept; and the reticence of the official report on the subject unfortunately leaves us without any guidance out of the dilemma.

When speaking of the remains of the settlement in English the inhabitants of Fahan do not refer to any but earthen enclosures as "forts." For stone buildings the native words *cathair*, or *clochán*, are employed. Dún Beag is distinguished by the rather happy term of "the battery."

I have already emphasised the fact that the great wall is a product of two periods, the present landward face being certainly an addition to its main structure. We can, I think, go further, although it is difficult to advance any definite proof in support of our doing so, and state it as a possibility that the whole of the stone wall belongs

* This is indicated on the plan, Plate XIX, by a difference in hatching.

to a later period than the earthen mounds. To the discussion of this point I hope to return later.

*F 10. CLOCHÁN (6 1·319).

The foundation and retaining-stones of a large circular clochán, 17 feet 6 inches across: the doorway faced the S.E., and was 2 feet 6 inches broad. There are indefinite traces of a second chamber, and possibly of a third, to the east of the remaining foundations.

At a little distance these remains resemble a stone circle within a lios, owing to the standing retaining stones. [For an explanation of this term see section I in the concluding portion of this paper, p. 289.]

† F 11. TWO CLOCHÁNS (10 ·906).

Two structures, one fairly perfect, the other a shell, in the field wall: marked "*sheepfolds*" on the twenty-five inch map. On the whole it is not improbable that in this case the judgment of the map-makers is correct, though this is one of the instances in which it is extremely difficult to come to a decision. The old buildings serve as the models of the new; the masonry of the new structure is rougher, on the average, than that of the older remains, but in individual examples it is very often hard to distinguish the one from the other.

*F 12. TWO CLOCHÁNS (10 1·007).

The ruined traces of two clochán: nothing distinctive in the remains can be detected.

F 13. FOUR CLOCHÁNS (10 ·673).

F 13*a*, *b*, and *c* are in a row from north to south; F 13*d* is east of the last. In all four the walls are broken and grass-grown, very few of the stones being visible. Trustworthy measurements cannot be taken except in the case of *b*, which is 9 feet in diameter.

F 14. TEAMPULL BEAG (10 ·330). Plate XXIII, fig. ii.

This is the only definitely ecclesiastical structure in the settlement. It is a rectangular building, built of very rough masonry cemented with mud-mortar. The architectural features, the positions of which are shown in the plan, consist of a door, and two windows splayed internally, on the south side, a similar window and two square locker-like recesses on the east: there are also three other recesses of similar character, one in the north, the other two in the west wall. The building—alleged by the inhabitants to be "the oldest church in Ireland"—bears much resemblance to the church at Ballywiheen, near Ballyferriter.* Internally it measures 22 feet by 12. It was probably roofed with overlapping stones. The north

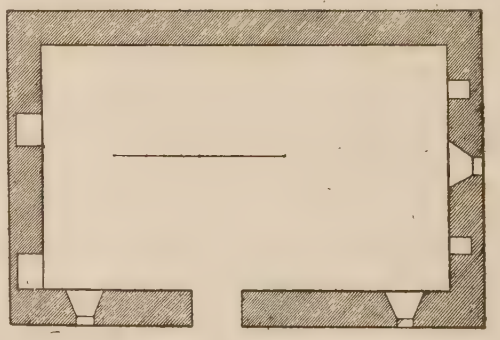

FIG. 7.—GROUND PLAN OF TEAMPULL BEAG.
(Drawn from a plan by Mr. J. Curran.)

* See *R.S.A.I. Journal*, ser. v, vol. viii, p. 17.

wall and the gables remain fairly perfect: the south wall is, however, nearly level with the ground in the middle of its length.

There is a small cemetery round the church, now used for unbaptized children. A stone with a plain cross upon it is still standing. Inside the church is a fragment of a large stone, cut into the shape of a cross: this is lying on the sill of the east window, and in Plate XXIII, fig. ii, is shown in that position. There was a third cross associated with the building, but it has disappeared—appropriated, as I understand, for building material used in the construction of a drain.

F 15. Báiltín na Triaim (10 ·468).

The "little enclosure of the elder-tree," also called *Clochán na Féithe*, "the stone house of the honeysuckle," is a courtyard 23 feet 6 inches in diameter, with a small subsidiary chamber 4 feet in diameter east to west; 9 feet 6 inches north to south. There are traces of other buildings to the south. The whole is in a dilapidated condition, and is obscured by grass.

†F 16. Lios (south of field, 10 1·064).

A high earth mound, enclosing a circular space 40 feet in diameter. In the centre a square pool has been dug, apparently in recent times, for watering cattle. Though small this has been a fine and imposing work.

†F 17. Clochán an Ghardha Chluanaigh (10 ·585).

The "clochán of the sequestered garden" is a triple clochán, much dilapidated, and now for the most part indicated merely by the retaining stones.

The principal chamber was 11 feet 3 inches in diameter; the entrance faced west, and was 1 foot 3 inches across.

To the south was a small chamber, with entrance eastward.

To the north was another. Precise dimensions are not obtainable in the case of either of the subsidiary apartments.

There is a modern field-wall running alongside the structure on the east. A doorway, 4 feet high, 2 feet 10 inches across, is built into it on the side opposite the clochán; no doubt this was connected originally with the building.

This same field contains a sheepfold of the clochán type, probably modern.

*** It will be noticed that nearly every field contained in a triangular patch north of the village of Fahan contains some object indicated on the 25-inch map by conventional signs similar to those which mark the sites of the antiquities here described. I have examined all of these: but with the exception of the remains included in this survey none of them display any signs of antiquity. The rest are natural earth-banks, or piles of stones cleared from the surface of the field.

*F 18. CATHAIR (10 5·387).

The field marked 5·387 is a coarse moory field (locally called a "Páirc Gharbh.") It contains a cathair, consisting of a court with chambers, in the wall. Merely the outlines of the walls can be traced in some cases, and the plan is difficult to make out. The chambers, so far as they can be traced, may thus be described:—

a. At the north-east of the cathair; D-shaped, the straight side 4 feet long, running north-west and south-east. Entrance in south-east. Diameter of chamber, 4 feet 2 inches.

b. A small chamber, dimensions not certain, south of *a*.

c. South of *b*: a similar small chamber. The entrance faces south-east, and is 1 foot 7 inches across.

d. West of *c*, a very small chamber.

e. West of the above, traces of a long large court extending the whole length of the chambers just described, 20 feet in length, lying N.N.E. and S.S.W.

f. West of *e*, the dilapidated remains of two small clochán, each about 5 feet in diameter, lying north and south.

g. South of the above, a passage running east and west.

h. South of *g*: two chambers, the one angular, the other of indeterminate plan. There were probably three other chambers, but nothing definite can be said about them.

Across the wall, to the east, is a pair of stone structures which the twenty-five inch map is probably correct in describing as sheepfolds.

*F 19. CLOCHÁN (*ib.*).

In the centre of the same field as that containing F 18; an enclosure 13 feet 6 inches across, built of large stones, the entrance facing south: in the north-west of it is a small clochán complete, but with a doorway too small to enter (1 foot 3 inches high, 1 foot 6 inches across). The internal diameter of the structure—which seems to be adapted as a lamb-fold—is over 7 feet. A number of limpet shells were found under a stone in this enclosure.

*F 20. CLOCHÁN PÁIRCE CURTIN (*ib.*).

F 20*a*. The "clochán of Curtin's Field"—the name is apparently derived from a previous occupier—was a very large structure; one of the largest of the ordinary bee-hive type to be found in the whole settlement. It is, however, much ruined, little but the foundations remaining. The diameter of the chamber is 22 feet. An avenue starts outward from the entrance in a south-easterly direction, curving southwards.

F 20*b*. Remains of at least one other structure are met with as we proceed a little further west. Some standing stones, in the position mentioned, are probably the retaining stones of another clochán, but nothing can be predicated of it.

*F 21. PÁIRC AN TSAGAIRT (6 5·855).

The "Priest's Field" is situated high up in the moorland, above the village of Fahan. In

its upper corner is a large irregular standing stone, 8 feet 6 inches high, not denoted on the Ordnance map, known as *Gallán an tSagairt*, or Priest's Stone. In front of it are two small clocháns; the upper, 6 feet long, 2 feet 8 inches high, the long axis running north-east and south-west, the entrance being at the south-western end; the lower a mere shell, 4 feet across, 2 feet 3 inches high, the entrance facing north-east.

There is one other standing-stone in the neighbourhood, called *Gallán an eidhne* (standing-stone of the ivy).

Below Páirc an tSagairt are three springs of water, which will be found duly recorded on the map. The uppermost is named *Tobar an tSagairt*; the second is named *Tobar beannuighthe*,* the blessed well; beside it, on the west, is a flat flag-stone called *Leac na nim* (? *Leac na nimhe*, "poison-stone"; I could not get any light on the name, or on the reason why this stone had a name at all). The southernmost is named *Tobar Mhuircherthaigh*, or "Murtagh's well." This name, however, I also heard applied to a spring in the village itself, to the east of Teampull Beag: and the Tobar Mhuircherthaigh (called "Tobermurly" on the twenty-five inch map), I heard spoken of as *Tobar Mhuire*, the well of the B.V.M. I have adopted the latter nomenclature on the map, Plate XVII.

*F 22. Loc Mháirín (6 183·192, at eastern end).

I have no information as to the personality of "Little Mary," the eponyma of this "place"; nor am I certain as to the meaning of the alternative name, *Loc Caibín*, which seems to connect the place in some way with "an old hat." The latter is probably a corruption due to the analogy of the name of the not far distant *Loc Cábún*.

F 23*a* is a rough and irregular enclosure, consisting of a curved wall, built up against a large stone *in situ*, which forms the back (northern) wall of the building. It is oblong, the long axis running W.S.W. and E.N.E., and measuring 16 feet; the cross diameter is 7 feet 6 inches. The entrance is at the eastern end of the long axis, and measures 1 foot 9 inches in width.

F 23*b* is the shell of a clochán, 9 feet S.E. from *a*. It is four-sided on plan, measuring 5 feet east to west, 6 feet north to south. The entrance faced the east. There is a cupboard recess, of irregular shape, in the inside of the wall opposite the entrance.

†F 23. Puicín Mór (*ib.*, south-eastern part).

F 24*a*. The "great fold" is unquestionably an ancient structure; but it has been altered and restored to convert it into a fold for lambs. It is oval on plan, 7 feet long, 5 feet 3 inches across; the doorway is 1 foot 6 inches broad: its original height cannot be ascertained, as it has been rebuilt. The long axis of the chamber lies N.N.E. and S.S.W. This and the following are marked "sheepfolds" on the twenty-five inch map.

F 24*b*, *c*. To the south-west of *a* are the remains of two dilapidated clocháns; one of these is roughly circular, 4 feet in diameter, with entrance facing south, 1 foot 3 inches across; the other is the shell of a larger chamber, 10 feet in diameter.

*I heard also the variant form *Tobar na beannuighthe*—the well of the blessed one (fem.).

†F 24. LOC AN GHALLÁIN EIDHNE (*ib., id.*).

This structure, which takes its name from the standing stone already mentioned under the head *Páirc an tSagairt* (F 21), lies west of F 23.

It consists of a chamber, 10 feet 6 inches in diameter, the walls of which show traces of having been rebuilt to adapt the structure as a sheepfold. The entrance faces the N.E., and is 2 feet 7 inches in width. A terrace leads out from it, 7 feet in length, marked by standing stones. On the north side, at the end of this terrace, is a small circular chamber, 5 feet 6 inches in diameter and 4 feet in height. On the south side of the terrace is a D-shaped chamber, 11 feet along the straight side and 6 feet 6 inches across.

*F 25. CLOCHÁN NA PÁIRCE BIGE (10·670).

Of the "stone house of the little field" nothing is to be seen but retaining stones of a double clochán. In the northern chamber traces only of one door remain, the jambs of which resemble two standing stones, 1 foot 6 inches apart, facing the south-east. The chamber was probably 11 feet 6 inches across. The south chamber seems to have been four-sided; the door faces the east, and is the northern corner of the eastern side. The chamber was of large size; but no reliable dimensions can be obtained.

†F 26. CLOCHÁNS (10 2·234).

This was a clochán group in Páirc a' dúna; but, as there is no proof that it was connected with Dún Beag, I have thought it best to enumerate it separately. They were all removed within recent years by Mr. Long, of Fahan, to make way for agricultural works. Two stones, with marks of scraping upon them, resembling hard sharpening stones, were found. I have not seen these, and am indebted to Mr. Long for information about them.

†F 27. CLOCHÁN BOTHAIR AN "TRASNUIG" (10·625).

This is an interesting site, though the remains are much dilapidated. At first sight nothing is to be seen but broken ground and part of a large circular foundation; the rest has been cleared away. *Trasnuig* is the Munster pronunciation of the genitive of some word apparently meaning "cross (road)."

This seems, from its position, to be the clochán numbered 1 in Du Noyer's Paper, and described by him in the following terms:—"A simple circular Cloghaun, about 11 feet in diameter internally, and 19 feet externally. . . . The entrance to the Cloghaun faces the east, and a portion of the chamber has been divided off to form a sleeping apartment, covered overhead with flags." As this has completely disappeared, we are not in a position to verify the suspicion, suggested by the appearance in DuNoyer's plan, that the division inside the chamber was recent, to adapt it as a receptacle for a turf-rick; its long narrow shape favours this hypothesis.

Du Noyer says nothing about the souterrain, which was open when the Survey of 1841 was made, and which is marked as "Cave" on the six-inch map of that date. It still exists, though the entrance is covered up, concealed, and almost forgotten.

A yet more remarkable feature of this site escaped Du Noyer's attention, and might, had he noticed it, have induced him to modify the views he expressed upon the antiquity of these

remains. Below are shown the markings upon three of the stones to be found in the field. The first, bearing three crosses, is in the S.E. of the site; the second, also bearing three crosses, and the third, engraved with an extraordinary collection of scratches (certainly artificial, but with no intelligible purport), are on the western side. The drawings have been reduced to scale from rubbings.

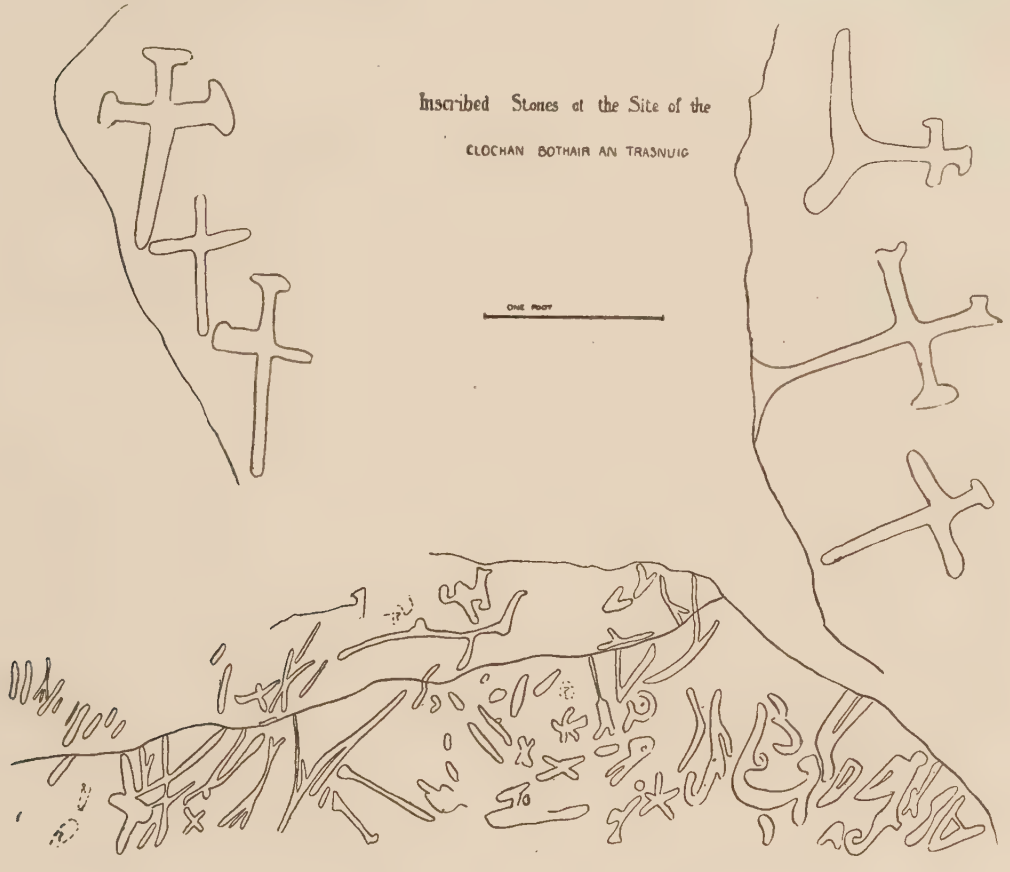

Fig. 8.—Inscribed Stones at the Site of the Clochán Bothair an Trasnuig.

F 28. Clochán (10 ·751).

A multiple clochán, consisting of a central chamber (or possibly an open court), 12 feet in diameter, bramble-grown and obscured. Towards the E.N.E. is the shell of the foundation of a small quadrilateral chamber, 3 feet in diameter, with a cupboard-recess at the north-east corner. There is another subsidiary chamber, which cannot be measured satisfactorily, to the north, and a third on the south. The doorway measures 3 feet across and splays outward. The main wall is 2 feet 3 inches wide.

To the south is a second chamber, entirely filled with stones.

This is Du Noyer's No. 2; but he has here fallen into error: he makes the diameter of the central chamber 15 feet internally, and locates a chamber "on its S.W. periphery," where no chamber ever was. Probably he forgot to mark the north-point in his drawing; it does not appear in his illustration.

A field to the south-west of the clochán contains a large pile of stones, which possibly may be the remains of an ancient structure.

†F 29. CLOCHÁN (10 ·557).

The site of a chamber 7 feet in diameter. To the south-east is a small subsidiary chamber 9 feet deep, and there is another to the south-west. Neither of these can be entered, as the doorways are reduced by the accumulation of rubbish to an impracticable size.

†F 30. CLOCHÁN (10 1·486).

The remains here might be taken for a mere heap of field-stones were it not for two standing pillar-stones, 4 feet 7 inches apart, possibly retaining or jamb stones of a clochán.

*F 31. CLOCHÁN (10 ·610).

A much ruined clochán, of which it is impossible to recover the plan or precise dimensions.

It seems to be Du Noyer's No. 4, though this is not quite certain, owing to the small scale of his map, and an apparent confusion in the numeration as there indicated. Du Noyer's description is as follows:—"This is a most singular double Cloghaun, remarkable for the great thickness of its walls in proportion to the size of the two enclosed chambers. In plan it is oval: the doorway faces the south-east, where the wall is 11 feet in thickness, and the passage from it is constructed obliquely to the longest axis of the building: it leads to the first or ante-chamber, which measures 16 feet by 13 feet, being semicircular at its northern end. In the middle of the north side of this chamber a narrow passage leads to the second or inner apartment, which is circular, and about 10 feet in diameter. As in the former examples little more than the foundations of this remarkable building remains."

F 32. CATHAIR NUADH (10 ·209). Plate XXI, fig. i.

Why this much dilapidated and ruined collection of huts should be called "the new fort" is by no means obvious. All the buildings shown in the accompanying plan are level with the ground, and some are reduced to mere heaps of stone. Their relative position is shown on the plan.

Of the structures comprising the fort—

a is a heap of stones—the *disjecta membra* of a clochán now quite destroyed.

b is the same.

c is a much dilapidated building; oval on plan; the long axis lying north and south and measuring about 6 feet; the cross diameter being about 3 feet.

d seems to have been a circular structure about 6 feet across.

e is a shapeless heap of stones.

f is the same. It was built of larger stones than the rest, and one of these shows scoring, like the marking on the stone at F 28.

g is the same.

h was probably circular.

i is also a shapeless heap of stones.

j is the foundation of a composite building in the centre of the fort. It consists of a cuspidate chamber, entered from the east. To the north-east the foundations of a second chamber can be detected, entered by a narrow opening close to the entrance of the principal chamber. A fine souterrain, opening out of the principal chamber, remains perfect. It consists of two divisions; the outer is 12 feet 6 inches long, 4 feet 6 inches wide, and 5 feet high; the inner is 12 feet long, 4 feet 3 inches across, and 5 feet 2 inches high. The communication between the two is an extremely narrow opening, 1 foot 10 inches high, 1 foot 9 inches across, and 3 feet 6 inches deep: it leads from the end of the first chamber, to the side of the second, their axis being at right angles. The inner chamber is roofed with three great lintels. There is a cupboard recess at the S.E. end of the inner chamber, just under the roof, 2 feet 3 inches deep.

The whole is contained within a great wall which includes a space of from 80 to 105 feet in diameter.

This is Du Noyer's No. 3, but it is difficult to trace a resemblance between his account and the actual remains. He describes it as follows:—"This building is a Caher about 75 feet in diameter, consisting of a circular stone-wall 8 feet thick, the exterior of which inclines from the base upward and appears to have terminated in a parapet; the doorway through this wall faces the east and is 4 feet wide, with sloping sides, but the lintel wanting. In the interior area of the Caher are the foundations of several circular chambers; that nearest the entrance is 17 feet in diameter internally, having had its door facing the south-east; on entering this chamber a narrow passage, a little to the left, leads due south into a small circular apartment; a second passage leads westward from the principal chamber into an inner one, also circular, and 16 feet in diameter. The whole of this Caher with its enclosed Cloghauns is very massive in its construction." So much damage has been done since Du Noyer's time that except for the particulars about the external wall, which are correct, it is impossible to verify these observations.

F 33. Clochán (10 ·995).

A much dilapidated clochán, apparently quadrangular. No exact dimensions are recoverable. The sides seem to face the cardinal points.

F 34. Clochán Group (*ib.*)

This consists of three chambers filled with stones, in a line from north to south. The jambs of the south entrance of the central chamber are visible above the pile of stones. The southern chamber was of small size. This group is in the S.W. corner of the same field as that containing F 34.

From topographical considerations I infer this to be the No. 5 of Du Noyer, though the structure is now so much destroyed that nothing described by that writer can be traced now. He says:—"This has evidently been a double-roofed Cloghaun very similar to the former [F 31], and was constructed with much care. The doorway faces the east where the wall is 10 feet thick, and, as in the former example, the entrance passage is oblique to the longest axis of the building: it leads into a circular chamber 16 feet in diameter, where, close to the entrance on the right hand, a narrow passage, flagged over and 12 feet long, leads from the first to the inner or second apartment, which in plan is rectangular at its western and semircular at its eastern extremity, and 16 feet long by about 14 feet wide. Exterior to the main doorway is a row of upright flagstones, placed so as to follow the contour of the Cloghaun at about 3 feet distant from it; these may have been portions of the side wall of a covered passage leading to it."

F 35. CLOCHÁN (10 1·160).

This structure consists of a central cuspidate chamber, 15 feet 8 inches in diameter, measured from the cusp to the door—a line east and west. There is a smaller chamber 7 feet 3 inches east to west, 5 feet north to south, 4 feet 9 inches high, constructed in the thickness of the wall, on the northern side: 5 feet 9 inches from the north jamb of the entrance to the chamber. The doorway of this chamber faces south: it has settled and become distorted, but it seems to have been about 3 feet 9 inches high, and 1 foot 6 inches wide. The doorway to the principal chamber faces E.S.E.; it is 7 feet in depth, 3 feet 2 inches in width throughout. The wall at this part is little more than level with the ground, so that the original height of the entrance cannot be recovered. In each jamb is a small coved semicircular niche. The retaining stones of this chamber are of large size.

There was another chamber to the east of that just described, apparently 15 feet 6 inches in diameter. Nothing but its northern shell can be traced.

*F 36. CLOCHÁNS (10 1·170).

The sites of two clochán are to be seen in this field. Nothing, however, is left of them except a few retaining stones.

F 37. CLOCHÁN (10 1·320).

This structure was apparently circular, but it is now filled with stones, and nothing can be made of it.

F 38. CLOCHÁN (10 ·170).

A large circular site, apparently 10 feet in diameter. There is evidence of the existence of a subsidiary chamber to the east.

F 39. LOC CÁBÚN (10 6·955).

The name of this structure is a complete puzzle, and none of the inhabitants can throw any light upon it. It is also called *Clochán Cábún*.

It is an elaborate multiple clochán consisting of three chambers, a bed recess, and an open yard, all enclosed by a wall. The principal chamber is 13 feet 9 inches in diameter;

a cross wall has been built within recent years in order to utilise the building as a turf store. The portion of the chamber so used is at a lower level than the rest, and rude steps have been constructed to lead down to it. The doorway is 2 feet wide. To the S.S.E. is a smaller chamber, 7 feet 6 inches in diameter, with a doorway 1 foot 9 inches wide. There is another small chamber on the east side, but it is so ruined that accurate dimensions cannot be determined.

The bed recess is entered from the outside; contrast G 58. It lies east and west, and is 6 feet 6 inches in length, and 2 feet across at the inner end, narrowing in the middle to 1 foot.

The enclosing wall is barely traceable.

Beside this clochán, and immediately below it on the hillside, is a large flat boulder, on the upper surface of which—a table 12 feet 6 inches by 9 feet 6 inches—are four large elliptical hollows, apparently artificial. These are generally filled with stagnant rain water, and, probably on their account, the field has received the name *Glaisín na dTobar gCaoch*, "the little green field of the blind wells."

F 40. Clochán (*ib.*).

A defaced and grass-grown structure, below F 39. Its plan and dimensions cannot be determined without excavation.

*** The remaining clocháns in Fahan townland are situated in the field 32·899, on the east bank of the Glenfahan river. A sufficient number of them are indicated in the twenty-five inch map to render their discovery easy. They are here taken in order from south to north.

F 41. Clochán Ceapach.

This clochán is single-chambered, oval on plan, the long axis lying N.N.W. and S.S.E. The length is 18 feet 9 inches. The entrance faces E.S.E., and is 3 feet broad. A cupboard recess is left in the wall at the end of the long axis, 4 feet 5 inches above the ground, 9 inches in height, 1 foot 2 inches across, and 1 foot 4 inches deep. As in the case of F 39 a modern wall has been built partly across the area of this chamber in order to provide storage for turf, and the wall of the clochán itself has also been partially rebuilt.

A few paces to the north-east is a little bell-shaped cell, 3 feet 11 inches high, 5 feet north-west to south-east, and 7 feet north-east to south-west: it is built of very large stones. This was most probably the sleeping chamber attached to the clochán.

I am unable to give a satisfactory explanation of the name of this structure. It is accented on the final syllable.

*F 42 Clochán.

A ruined structure of which it is impossible to predicate anything definite.

*F 43 Clochán.

A large circular clochán 16 feet in diameter, immediately east of F 42. Like most of those in this part of the townland it is much dilapidated.

F 44. CLOCHÁN.

A circular structure 11 feet in diameter. The entrance faces the south-east. There is evidence of a smaller chamber having existed in the wall on the north-east side, and possibly another on the west. The structure is much injured.

F 45. CLOCHÁN.

A very large chamber, 18 feet 9 inches in diameter. The doorway faces the south-east and is 2 feet 10 inches wide. This entrance is well built, and is provided with two large jamb-stones.

*F 46. ROCK-SHELTER.

A chamber formed underneath a projecting slab of enormous size, apparently partly natural, though it has probably been modified to serve as a sleeping recess. It is 5 feet deep, 2 feet high, and entered by a doorway 2 feet square.

F 47. CLOCHÁN TOMÁIS.

The personality of "Thomas," who gives his name to this structure, seems to be forgotten. His clochán is a circular structure, 11 feet 7 inches in diameter, and is provided with two entrances, close together: the one facing S.E. and measuring 1 foot 6 inches internally, 4 feet externally—a considerable outward splay; the other facing S.S.E., and measuring 2 feet 1 inch in height, 1 foot 10 inches in width. The latter doorway is now blocked. On the west and south are traces of a defensive stockade around this clochán, at a distance of 21 feet from its wall.

F 48. CLOCHÁN GROUP. Plate XVIII, fig. IX.

This important group differs from the cathairs of the lower slope of the mountain side, in its not being provided with a surrounding wall. It stands on a shoulder of the mountain, in the middle of a natural amphitheatre of heathy mounds, which, with its remote situation, were doubtless regarded as rendering artificial defences unnecessary.

The relative portions of the structures are shown in the ground plan. They may thus be described:—

F 48 *a*. A very large circular structure, 19 feet in diameter, built with retaining-stones on the outside. About 3 feet of the wall is standing, with very little oversail. The wall is 3 feet 6 inches thick. The doorway faces east, and is marked with standing stones. There are four cupboard recesses in the walls; the first, at the west, is 1 foot 3 inches high, 1 foot 9 inches across, 2 feet deep; the third, at the north-west, 1 foot 3 inches high, 1 foot 3 inches across, 1 foot 9 inches deep; the second and fourth are shapeless: all are on the level of the ground. From the door of *a* to that of *b* there runs what seems to be a raised causeway, 23 feet 3 inches long.

F 48 *b*. This is quadrilateral on plan, 5 feet either way, 4 feet 6 inches high; the wall is 2 feet 6 inches thick; the door 2 feet high, 1 foot 7 inches across. This chamber is perfect.

F 48 *c*. This is probably a bed-recess; it is 6 feet long east to west, 2 feet 8 inches across.

The doorway is at the east end of the south side, 2 feet 6 inches across. The foundations only of this structure remain.

F 48 *d* is another bed-recess, in better preservation. It is 6 feet 3 inches east to west, 4 feet north to south, 2 feet 9 inches high. The entrance faces south-west. The long axis lies north-east and south-west.

F 48 *e*. This chamber is complete. It is circular on plan, 6 feet in diameter, with wall 1 foot 6 inches thick. The door faces west, and is 1 foot 4 inches high, 1 foot 3 inches wide. There is a cupboard-recess in the wall opposite the door. The chamber is only 2 feet 10 inches high.

F 48 *f* is a small dilapidated clochán immediately east of *e*; it is 4 feet across; the doorway is 2 feet wide, but is distorted. The chamber is constructed against a large stone *in situ*.

F 48 *g* is the obscure foundation of a dilapidated clochán.

*F 49. Clochán.

A shelter of irregular shape, about 15 feet across, built up against a very large rock *in situ*.

*F 50. Clochán.

A small circular clochán, quite dilapidated, 40 feet west of F 49.

*F 51. Clochán.

Another shelter built against a rock, east of F 49.

*F 52. Clochán.

A large circular chamber, 15 feet across; the entrance facing N.N.W., but distorted. There was a subsidiary chamber south of the entrance; this was 4 feet in diameter, and entered by a doorway 1 foot 7 inches across facing the east. This chamber has, however, become ruinous.

*F 53. Clochán.

Thirty feet west of F 52; a much dilapidated chamber, about 6 feet in diameter, with a triangular cupboard-recess; to the N.N.E. another small chamber.

*F 54. Clochán.

A chamber 10 feet north to south, 15 feet east to west, with wall 4 feet 4 inches thick; entered at the east by a doorway 2 feet 10 inches across. There is a small subsidiary chamber inside, with entrance facing south-east. This chamber is 2 feet 6 inches in height, and 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet in diameter. The entrance is 1 foot 2 inches high, 1 foot 6 inches across.

*F 55. Clochán Group.

A circular structure, with wall 3 feet 9 inches thick, 12 feet 9 inches across, entered from the east; with a subsidiary chamber on the north 2 feet 7 inches high, 3 feet 6 inches north to south, 4 feet 6 inches east to west, having its entrance facing south, 2 feet 4 inches high, 1 foot across. Outside the door is the shell of another chamber, much ruined, built of large

stones. Seven feet to the north-west is a small shelter built against a rock, with a terrace leading to it. To the east of this is another shelter of the same type.

*F 56. ROCK-SHELTERS.

Two small shelters built against rocks *in situ*.

TOWNLAND OF GLENFAHAN

G 1. CLOCHÁN GROUP (10·139).

These structures are much dilapidated. They are three in number. The two to the north lie east and west, in contact with one another (thus probably forming one double clochán). The western, which has received less injury than its neighbours, is about 16 feet 6 inches in diameter; the door, 2 feet 3 inches wide, faced south. The eastern chamber has lost the eastern part of its wall. This chamber was about the same size as its fellow.

In the angle of the wall, at the south end of the field, is the third member of the group. It is entirely filled with field-stones.

One of these three corresponds (topographically) to Du Noyer's No. 6—"a small elliptical Cloghaun, having the doorway facing the south-east, and its passage oblique to the longest axis of the hut. In the interior a stone diaphragm has been constructed, thus arching off [*sic*] a small portion of the chamber to form a sleeping apartment; a low square opening directly facing the main entrance leads into it."

G 2. PUICÍN NA GCAORACH (10, south of ·324).

This building stands at the side of the old bridle-path through the two townlands. It is a conspicuous object from the modern cliff road. As its name implies, it has been rebuilt to serve as a sheep-fold, which accounts for its perfect condition; but the character of the masonry in the lower part of the wall, as well as the presence of a cupboard recess in the wall, shows it to be in origin a genuine clochán.

The diameter of the chamber is 14 feet; the doorway faces the east, is 4 feet high and 3 feet 3 inches across; the cupboard recess referred to is on the north side, 4 feet from the ground, 11 inches high, 10 inches across, and 1 foot deep.

† G 3. CLOCHÁN (10 ·374).

This structure was undoubtedly a clochán, but it is altogether destroyed, and nothing can be said as to its details.

G 4. CATHAIR CONNOR (10, north of ·348). Plate XXI, fig. ii, XXIII, figs. ii, v.

I have preferred to use the Anglicised form of this name, as there is no reason for supposing it to be of any antiquity. Forts and allied structures are in this district named from the holders of the land on which they are found and change their name with any change of occupant. Of this practice we shall meet with several other examples in the present townland.

Du Noyer made an unfortunate slip regarding the name of this fort; a mistake which has been copied from one book to another ever since. He calls it *Cahernamactirech*, a name which he explains as meaning "the stone fort of the wolves." It is a pity to upset so romantic a name, but that cannot be helped: obviously it is a confused version of *Cathair na Mairtíneach*, now* the name of the great fort in the immediate neighbourhood of that under discussion, which prosaically means "the stone fort of the Martins." O'Curry in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, vol. iii, p. 72, pointed out the fact that the name was not correct; but nevertheless it has gained currency, and, thanks to tourists, is not altogether unknown in the Dingle district.

Along with Cathair Nuadh, already described (F 32), and Cathair na Mairtíneach, to be presently noticed (G 7), this very important group of buildings forms a set of three fortresses of the first magnitude, ranged between Dún Beag and the Glenfahan river. There are others of similar type, such as Cathair bheag na Mairtíneach (G 8); but these, from their superior size, are especially conspicuous.

Cathair Connor has suffered much injury even since Du Noyer described it: it is No. 7 in his series. The ground-plan (Plate XXI, fig. ii), which is drawn from one plotted on the spot, will best show its present state.

The enclosure is 60 to 80 feet in diameter, and is surrounded by a wall about 8 feet 6 inches thick. There are large stones on the outside of the wall at irregular intervals. The entrance, 4 feet 3 inches wide, faces the south-east. A souterrain exists in the thickness of the wall on the southern side, 27 feet long, 2 feet by 2 feet in cross-dimensions. Du Noyer shows two other passages in the north-west and north of the wall respectively. The depredations of the inhabitants, who constantly use this fort as a quarry, have effaced these from existence with the exception of the entrance to the latter passage: they are, however, remembered. The existing souterrain has no visible entrance, and unless it was used for the storage of objects of special value but little utility, to be obtained when required only by burrowing through the wall, its purpose is by no means clear.

A "guard-house" shown by Du Noyer, with entrance outside the fort, can no longer be traced. Entering the structure we see three clochán, all fairly perfect, and clearly shown on the view of the fort taken from the north-east (Plate XXIII, fig. iii); sites of four chambers; and an intricate arrangement of courts, the original plan and purpose of which are obscure.

G 4 *a* is a clochán of irregular shape in the north-west of the fort. The entrance faces S.S.E. The plan is roughly circular for the greater part of the perimeter, but towards the door occurs an angle on each side. The greatest diameter is 14 feet 5 inches, the least 8 feet. The roof is in perfect preservation, but the total height of the chamber cannot be ascertained correctly, as the clochán is made a store-room for sand used for agricultural purposes, so that the floor is completely covered to a depth of about 2 or 3 feet. Clear of this

* In Windele's time this fort was called (as he writes it) "Caher Martin." It is so named in a note of his (Windele MSS., *R. I. A.*, *Supplement* (1859), p. 328, vol. ii, p. 339), and "Cloghán an Martinig" (*Iar Mumhan*, p. 477). Notice the singular number of the family name. I am indebted to Mr. Westropp for reference to this note, and a tracing of Windele's sketch plan.

obstruction I found the roof to be 7 feet 3 inches high. The roof is not brought to a point, but is lintelled (like the well-known Clochán na Carraige on Aran Mór), with six large flagstones. The entrance is 4 feet in height, and in breadth tapers from 3 feet at the bottom to 2 feet 6 inches at the top.

G 4 *b*. This lies south of the clochán just described. It has suffered severe injury. The plan is circular, 16 feet 8 inches in diameter; the entrance faces the east. The roof and a considerable part of the top of the wall has gone, and of the doorway, even what remains is much damaged. The width of this entrance seems to have been 2 feet. There is a cupboard recess north of the doorway, 3 feet from its nearer jamb: this is 1 foot 6 inches deep, 1 foot 9 inches across, 9 inches high, and 2 feet 6 inches above the level of the ground. The walls oversail 1 foot 6 inches in a vertical height of 5 feet.

G 4 *c* is the third and last clochán of which any considerable portion still remains. It is a fine structure, built on a singularly irregular plan, which may best be described by comparing it to a lady's fan spread open, the angle between the straight sides being right, and the respective lengths of those sides being 8 feet and 10 feet 2 inches. The curved portion is very complex, and changes the curvature abruptly three times. The entrance is in the middle of this portion and is very crookedly set out. The depth of the doorway is 3 feet; the wall is standing to a height of 10 feet, the capping of the roof alone being lost.

G 4 *d* is a small chamber which existed between the building last described and G 4 *b*, to which latter it formed an ante-room. Only a smaller portion of the western wall is standing, sufficient to show that the chamber was not of large size.

G 4 *e* and *f* are the foundations of two circular chambers (the latter of which was of considerable size), which occupied the space east of clochán *a*. They are almost annihilated, being marked merely by indefinite mounds and small, shapeless heaps of stones. At the south side of G 4 *f* is a very large flat stone, which might possibly have been a lintel-stone fallen from the roof. Long stones are much in demand among the modern peasantry for roofing pig-styes, and it is quite likely that the companion-stones of this survivor may have been appropriated for such a purpose.

G 4 *g*, *h*, and *i* are small quadrilateral buildings, the foundations of which are traceable against the eastern portion of the wall of the fort. Of the two former not more than one foot of the wall is anywhere above ground, if so much. There is no entrance traceable for G 4 *g*. The third, G 4 *i*, formed a kind of fore-wall to the fort, being entered immediately from the main entrance, and having a doorway leading into the area of the fort.

G 4 *j* was an elaborate multiple building, of which the clochán described above as G 4 *c* (possibly also G 4 *d*) formed a subsidiary chamber. It consisted of a quadrangular area, with two small chambers, triangular on plan, against the eastern wall, and G 4 *c* in the centre of the western side. Owing to the accumulation of *débris* and the growth of brambles it is very difficult to determine the mutual relation of these chambers. The entrances marked by Du Noyer, and denoted on his authority in the accompanying ground plan, could not be traced by me: no doubt they formerly were to be seen where Du Noyer showed them, but they certainly are no longer there.

A panoramic view of the fort is shown on Plate XXIII, fig. iii: it is taken from a spot N.W. of *f*. In the detailed view (fig. v of the same plate), taken from near the entrance to the fort, *a* is shown to the right of the centre of the picture, its doorway facing the spectator. At the left-hand side is *c*, its doorway marked by a streak of light, which is shining through the hole in the roof. Between *a* and *c* are the remains of *d*. In the foreground is *j*.

Windele's ground-plan (*loc. cit.*) shows clochán *a*, *b*, *c*, *e* (?), and Du Noyer's "guard-house," which he numbers respectively 5, 1, 2, 3, and 4. He notes that the "cap is gone" in 1, 2, and 3, while 4 and 5 are "covered"; and that 3, 4, and 5 are "square inside." He gives a sketch of it from the north, and, in his *Supplement*, vol. ii, p. 328, describes it as having five clochán and a souterrain. In "Iar Mumhan," p. 477, he notes the gallery in the wall.

We thus see that originally nearly the whole area of this fort was occupied by clochán, though there is now a sad blank in the north-west corner. Excluding the entrance *i*, and Du Noyer's guard-chamber, there is evidence of there having been eleven apartments within the enclosure. These, on an average, would supply accommodation for four persons without undue overcrowding, so that we may deduce a population of some forty or fifty for this fortress at any given time.

G 5. Clochán (10 ·284).

A circular structure close to the wall of the field. It is 12 feet in diameter; the wall is 4 feet in thickness and oversails 10 inches in 2 feet. The entrance faced south, but is destroyed. The structure stands at the north-west corner of a quadrangular fore-court, marked out by standing stones, 24 feet east to west and 37 feet north to south. This court is interfered with by the modern field-walls.

† G 6. Clochán (10 ·822).

A double clochán with the remains of a fore-court. It will be convenient to describe the inner chamber first. This is perfect, boat-shaped on plan, the long axis running W.N.W. and E.S.E., 9 feet 2 inches in length; the cross diameter is 4 feet 2 inches; height 4 feet. The entrance is at the west end of the south side. The roof is composed of lintels; there is little or no oversail in the walls. The outer chamber is D-shaped, the straight side measuring 7 feet in length, and lying E.N.E. and W.S.W. The diameter of the chamber is 2 feet 6 inches. The door is at the east end, and measures 3 feet 3 inches across. There are the remains of a court in front of the door, 9 feet across; the doorway faced south-east and measured 1 foot 9 inches across.

This structure is marked "Sheepfolds" on the map. There are others similarly denoted in the neighbourhood, but this is the only one of which I could be certain that it was *not* a sheepfold.

G 7. Cathair na Mairtíneach (10 west of ·395). Plate XXI, fig. iv, XXIII, fig. iv.

This is the third of the three great residential fortresses on the east side of the Glenfahan River. It is in better preservation than its neighbour, and even more interesting.

It is Du Noyer's No. 8, and he has given a very good, if brief, account of it.

It is roughly circular, about 108 feet in diameter. On the north a modern wall has been built straight across from point to point in the old wall, in order to incorporate the segment

thus cut off with an arable field on the north. This abstracted portion is 14 feet 3 inches in maximum breadth. A labourer uncovered a sufficient extent of the foundation of the old wall remaining under the surface of this field, to enable me to see its extent. The original outline is shown on the plan (Plate XXI, fig. iv). On the east side is a souterrain, 17 feet long, 3 feet 2 inches high, 2 feet 8 inches across. No original entrance can be detected, as in the case of the souterrain remaining in Cathair Connor : a hole broken in the top of the wall gives access to it. My assistant, who dug out the foundation of the destroyed part of the wall, in January, 1898, assured me that in that portion there was a continuation of the passage, and that he had often struck it in tilling the field. This story was confirmed by other inhabitants ; but none of them could discover it at the moment, though several attempted to do so. I heard in April, when I revisited the site, that the souterrain had been re-discovered in the meanwhile, but had to be closed again to render that portion of the field available for cultivation ; and as it was by that time sown, it was impossible for me to have it uncovered. We shall now describe the remains in the fort in detail.

G 7 *a*. This is a double clochán of unusual character, and attracted the special attention of Du Noyer. The entrance faces the south. The eastern chamber is perfect, and of very small dimensions—a point in which it contrasts remarkably with its companion chambers in the fort, all of which are unusually large. This chamber is pentagonal on plan internally, circular externally. The length of the sides of the pentagon range from 2 feet 6 inches to 5 feet. The internal plan becomes circular at a height of 3 feet 6 inches from the ground. The doorway is extremely narrow, being only 1 foot in width ; it is 2 feet 7 inches high. The total height of the chamber is 6 feet 9 inches. The chamber on the east is triangular on plan, the south side being curved. It is open to the sky, and to judge from the absence of oversail in the existing portion, may have always been intended to be so, though it is small enough to have borne a roof formed of lintels, without any diminution of its area. The ground north of the chamber is level with the top of the wall ; there is a very considerable fall in the surface at this part, so that the ground south of the chamber is at a level 3 or 4 feet lower.

G 7 *b*. A very large and elaborate multiple clochán ; much ruined and, owing to the accumulation of *débris*, difficult to plot accurately. It required careful clearance of the loose stones to determine how the walls ran ; but after a little time it became apparent that this was a three-chambered building, the chambers being rather long and narrow on plan.

The entrance faces north-east, and gives access to two chambers, of which foundations only remain. That to the south is quadrilateral on plan, with its angles rounded off. The length east to west is 18 feet, north to south 7 feet 9 inches. The second chamber is a large circular building, 21 feet 10 inches in diameter. The walls are to a maximum height of about 3 feet. From the area of this chamber a recess has been cut off by a curved wall springing from the internal surface of the wall of the main chamber, at about its south-western point. The greatest diameter of this recess is 11 feet. Nothing is now to be seen of the "dog-house" described by Du Noyer on the north side of this second chamber.

Unlike the other two, the third chamber of this remarkable series is perfect. The doorway

si 4 feet deep, 4 feet 3 inches high, 2 feet wide at bottom, 2 feet at top. It is lined with upright jamb-stones 1½ inches thick and furnished with a stone threshold. Externally the clochán appears elliptical; internally its plan is that of a long narrow triangle, 14 feet in length. The floor slopes downwards from the entrance, and the drip of water from the roof keeps it soft and muddy. The roof is 12 feet high.

G 7 *c*, *d*, and *e* are three clochán of which traces alone remain. The two first are south of *a*; the third is in the west of the fortress. Nothing can be said of *d* and *e* except that they were probably circular; indeed the very existence of *d* may fairly be called in question. The other, *c*, was oval, about 8 feet by 4 feet, and was dug out of the *débris* in which it was hidden on the occasion of my visit. A long stone, probably a lintel-stone, was found in its area.

G 7 *f* is a large and important clochán, communicating with the exterior of the fort. It is externally circular, internally quadrilateral on plan. The sides of the quadrilateral measure respectively 6 feet 9 inches (northern), 7 feet 3 inches (western), 7 feet (southern), and 9 feet 9 inches (eastern). In the last side the doorway is situated, 4 feet 9 inches wide. The oversail is 1 foot in 5 feet; the top only is gone. There is a vertical joint, without bond, running down the wall at the south jamb of the interior face of the entrance. Such vertical joints are not uncommon in dry-stone built fortifications, and probably mark the junction of two pieces of work erected at different times, or, what is more likely, by different workmen. Another example is figured in Mr. Westropp's series of articles on the Stone Forts of Northern Clare, from Cahercommane (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, *Journal*, Series v, vol. vi, page 155); and two others are very conspicuous in Lord Dunraven's photograph of Dún Chonchobhair on Inismaan (*Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. I, Plate iv).

The doorway of the chamber under discussion leads into a passage 6 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 5 feet 9 inches high. The outer entrance is at present 4 feet 3 inches high, but was originally not lower than the rest of the passage; a lintel at the height named has been added in recent times. The outer entrance is 2 feet 8 inches deep, and 1 foot 10 inches narrower than the passage that leads to it. The door was placed at a point 4 feet 3 inches back from the outer face of the entrance, the usual upright flags marking the reveal at this point. A bolt hole remains on the southern side.

G 7 *g* is a leaf-shaped chamber, the maximum diameter internally being 9 feet, entered by a passage about 5 feet in length. The structure is perfect; the roof is 6 feet 6 inches above the ground.

The photographic view (Plate XXIII, fig. iv) is taken from the north-east of *a*, and shows in the foreground the two chambers of that remarkable structure. The perfect clochán at the left is the inner chamber of *b*; this great building extends right across the picture, ending at the broken *débris* near the extreme right. Beyond, nearer the middle of the picture, is *g*.

Mr. Westropp has kindly communicated to me Windele's note on this structure also. Windele calls it "Cahirdonnell." The sketch-plan (which, as in the case of Cathair Connor, is very rough) shows *a* in its present state; *b* (the inner chamber of which is curiously described as "roofless"); Du Noyer's "doghouse," now vanished; *f* and *g*, apparently in their present state. It "has eight clochán," and "is three fields N.W. of Caher Martin.

At the east side is an oblong souterrain inaccessible. The wall of the caher is ruined." In *Iar Mumhan* he mentions: "Caher Leam y Molone, two fields west of the Martinig clochaun. It contains five houses, two of which are down."* It seems uncertain whether he intends this for the present cathair.

G 8. CATHAIR BHEAG† NA MAIRTÍNEACH (10 ·602).

Of the "little fort of the Martins" but one clochán remains with traces indicating the sites of others.

The remaining structure is irregularly leaf-shaped, the maximum diameter (nearly north and south) being 11 feet 4 inches. The doorway faces S.S.E., and an avenue 15 feet long led up to it; of this the west wall alone remains. The oversail is about 9 inches in 5 feet. There are two cupboard recesses in the wall; one close by the door, the other diametrically opposite to it. The first is 1 foot 3 inches above the ground, 9 inches high, 11 inches broad, 1 foot 4½ inches deep. The other is 2 feet 6 inches above the ground, 7½ inches high, 1 foot broad, 1 foot 3 inches deep.

On the east side of this structure is a bank of earth, possibly the site of other buildings.

There was another clochán to the north-east, and a third to the south, the site of the latter being indicated by upright stones.

†G 9. CLOCHÁNS (10 ·854).

G 9 *a*. The principal object remaining in this group is the northern shell of a circular clochán, 6 feet 6 inches in diameter. The maximum height remaining is 6 feet 8 inches, in which height the wall oversails about 5 feet. The floor of the chamber was considerably below the level of the field; the wall was beautifully built with large stones.

To the north was another circular chamber, the entrance facing S.W., and leading into a third. These are now traceable only as depressions in the ground.

G 9 *b*. Against the field-wall, to the south-west of G 9 *a*, is a depression indicating the site of a clochán, oval on plan; the long axis lying east and west, and measuring 6 feet in length.

*G 10. LIOS, &c., (10 East of ·211).

An approximately circular lios, about 15 feet in diameter. In the centre is an opening into a souterrain, running north and south. This souterrain runs outside the ring of the lios at the south side, and opens into the site of a destroyed clochán—a remarkable arrangement, to which I know no parallel. Unfortunately neither of the entrances to the souterrain are practicable owing to dense growth of bramble.

*G 11. ENCLOSURES, &c. (10 ·120 and ·300).

In the next field but one to the lios above described occurs a remarkable series of rectangular enclosures, resembling nothing else in the entire district. They extend over two

* *Supplement*, vol. ii, p. 327.

† Some of my assistants called this *Cathair beag*, &c., treating *Cathair* as a masculine word.

fields. The enclosures are stone built but turfed over; they resemble the site of a large labyrinthine house more than anything else.

In the fields indicated are also the remains of three single clochán, marked by their retaining stones alone.

G 12. Clochán na nGearrfhiadh (10 ·742).

The "clochán of the hares" is so utterly ruined that I am compelled to quote Du Noyer for an account of it. It is No. 9 in his series. He describes it thus:—"A circular Cloghaun, 18 feet in diameter, formed in an excavation on the east brow of the steep glen, close to the village of Glenfahan. That portion of the masonry which is above the level of the surrounding ground, appears, on the east side, to have been constructed in a series of small terraces, which lessened in diameter as they rose to form the conical roof; the door which faces the south is 6 feet 6 inches in height, and a trench to it was excavated in the surrounding earth. On the south-west side of the Cloghaun a small sleeping apartment, with its usual low narrow entrance, was constructed in the earth."

In some respects this description resembles that of the surviving clochán in Cathair bheag na Mairtíneach (G 8); but the "sleeping chamber" entirely dissociates the account from that building. The structure is now practically destroyed, and Du Noyer's description cannot be fully verified.

G 13. Clochán Dubh (10 ·361).

The "black clochán"—the application of the name is not obvious—is a beehive structure of the ordinary type. The diameter internally is 16 feet 6 inches, a little above the base—the floor being covered with a foot or two of sand, as in the case of G 4*a*. The wall oversails 3 feet 7½ inches in a height of 9 feet 3 inches. The doorway is 4 feet 11 inches in height, and 2 feet broad. An avenue of built stones, 11 feet long, 5 feet wide, leads up to it. The wall is 4 feet 6 inches thick. The roof has fallen in, and to keep the weather from the sand and from the sheep that shelter in the building, a makeshift roof of beams and sods has been substituted.

*G 14. Clochán (*ib.*).

This is in the same field as the preceding, 20 feet to the S.E. from it. The clochán is filled with stones and otherwise defaced: it is incorporated with the boundary wall of the field. At a height of 5 feet 9 inches from the ground the diameter is 10 feet. The doorway faces the north, and is composed of stones larger than those used in the rest of the building; it is now distorted, but measured 2 feet 8 inches in height by about 2 feet 2 inches.

*G 15. Clochán (10 ·712).

A ruined clochán of which it is impossible to recover details or dimensions with any certainty.

*G 16. Clochán (10 ·525).

This clochán is filled with stones and thereby obscured. A souterrain exists independent of the main building, though no doubt belonging to it; it lies to the north of it, at a few paces distance. It consists of two chambers of nearly equal size, connected by an extremely narrow

and awkward opening. The outer chamber lies W.S.W. and E.N.E.; it is 10 feet long and 4 feet high. The communication is 2 feet high and 1 foot across, and the difficulty of squeezing through is increased by a considerable fall in the ground immediately inside it. The inner chamber lies N.N.E. and S.S.W.; it measures 10 feet in length and 5 feet in breadth. It is well built with large stones, and there is no sign of its having extended any further. My guides, however, assured me that it formerly led to G 17, but that four years ago a man dug it up and cleared all the stones away.

G 17. CLOCHÁN (10 ·683).

This is a mere shell, concerning which there is little to say. It is in the centre of the field indicated; I could not find the clochán shown on the map in the north-west corner of the same field.

*** The above completes the record of structures and other remains of the settlement to be seen on the east side of the Glenfahan River. The remainder of the series is to be found on its west side.

Reference to the twenty-five inch map will show that the portion of the townland of Glenfahan to the west of the river is divided into sections of markedly diverse character. There is a fringe of small cultivated fields along the river side and the coast-line extending into the middle of sheet 9 of the map. This encloses a great moorland tract on the side of Beennacouma, over 209 acres in extent. Nothing is marked on the map in this wide area, although numerous clochán, and one important and very interesting cathair, are to be found within it. To the south-west of the townland is a smaller, but still considerable area, also containing numerous remains, some of which are indicated on the map. This latter part of the townland is covered with great boulders, and is known as *the* "Páirc Gharbh" *par excellence*.

For convenience of reference we shall follow this subdivision of the townland in describing the structures there to be seen. It would be impossible in dealing with so extended an area of country, and such scattered structures, to number the latter in order from east to west with any reasonable regard to consecutiveness.

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*G 18. MUILLEANN MAOL (10 1·256).

This is a very curious and interesting structure. It is indicated as "Ruin" on the old 6-inch map, but, strange to say, does not appear in the twenty-five inch survey.

The building may be described very simply: it is a rectangular structure, now roofless, measuring on plan 5 feet 6 inches east to west, 9 feet north to south. A doorway gives access to it on the south side; this is 4 feet 2 inches high, and still retains its flat lintel. There are indefinite traces of a wall to the south.

A luxuriant crop of weeds obscures the masonry, and there is nothing to be made out except what has just been described; but I see no reason to question the universal local tradition, that this is the remains of an ancient water-mill. The adjective *maol*, literally

"bald," is capable of very picturesque extensions of meaning. *Bó mhaol* is a "*hornless* cow"; *árthach maol*, a *dismasted* ship; *muilleann maol*, a *wheelless* mill. I was told that tradition exists of the grinding-stones having been *in situ* within the present century. There is no sign, so far as I could find, of machinery; it appears that a portion of the neighbouring river was deflected to pass through the building, turning the wheel in its course.

It is open to doubt whether we may assign to the Muilleann Maol an antiquity equal to that of the other remains which we have been describing: there is evidence that the inhabitants of the settlement used hand-querns for grinding purposes. This is a question more suited to the concluding portion of this paper; it is, however, proper here to remark that the modern inhabitants have no doubt on the subject of the antiquity of the mill, or of its original purpose. All over the Fahan and Glenfahan district it is regarded as having been erected by the Danes, and used by them in the mysterious process of extracting beer from heather: I learnt even the circumstantial details that the Danes cut the heather high up on the mountain side and floated it down the river to the mill, where it was ground—the beer being in some unknown manner a result of the latter process. I further heard that a road was said to lead direct from Dún Beag to the *muilleann* (it must be remembered that the present carriage road is quite modern)—and even that a fragment of this road still exists. I had this fragment pointed out to me: it is a mere strip of stony ground which will be found indicated on the twenty-five inch map, by a dotted line in the north of the field marked with acreage ·800, at the edge of the sea, a very short distance west of Dún Beag. It is also shown on the map accompanying this paper. These traditions add considerable interest to this little building, and may ultimately be found to involve or to lead to important results.

G 19. Clochán (10 3·481).

A large double clochán, much broken, filled with *débris*, and overgrown with brambles. The western chamber is circular, built of large stones, neatly fitted together. At the present level the diameter is 10 feet; the diameter on the original level was probably about 15 feet. A door facing eastward gives access to the eastern chamber, which was circular on plan, 20 feet in diameter. The jambs of the door communicating between the chambers intrude upon the area of this apartment. The entrance cannot be found with certainty, owing to the ruined state of the wall of the outer chamber; it probably faced south-east.

To the east are some very large stones, so arranged as distantly to resemble a third chamber.

*G 20. Clochán (*ib.*).

This is in the same field as the last, in a small projecting portion of it. It is not indicated on the twenty-five inch map, but its site will be found immediately south of the bench-mark figured 424·7. It is the shell of a clochán, much injured, circular on plan, 11 feet in diameter.

G 21. Clochán (10 ·158).

This has certainly been a clochán, but it is now reduced to a pile of stones.

In position this coincides with Du Noyer's No. 10, but it is now quite impossible to verify

Du Noyer's description, which runs thus :—" A unique double Cloghaun. The two chambers, though quite distinct at the height of a few feet above the foundations, are included in the same ground plan—they lie east and west of each other. That to the west is circular, having its doorway facing the south-east; a portion of its interior is partitioned off to form a sleeping-chamber, in which respect it resembles Cloghaun No. 6 [G 1]. That to the east has two chambers enclosed under the same roof, connected by a low passage close to the north wall, and with its doorway facing the south-west.

" Outside the more western of these Cloghauns are the remains of a broad flight of steps which probably led to the summit of the house, from which an extensive prospect could be obtained."

†G 22. CLOCHÁN (10 ·245).

A circular clochán, 12 feet 9 inches in diameter; the entrance facing slightly east of south, and 2 feet across.

†G 23. CLOCHAN (10 1·401).

Apparently a three-chambered building constructed with large stones. It is, however, greatly dilapidated.

G 24. CATHAIR MURPHY (10 ·133). Plate XXI, fig. iii.

It is very unfortunate that this interesting structure escaped the attention of Du Noyer, and that no record exists of its appearance before it underwent restoration. As it stands it is without parallel in the settlement or anywhere else, so far as I know: I have never come across any representation of a cathair in which the entire area, with the exception of one insignificant fraction, is occupied by buildings, or rather by a suite of chambers, the greater number of which must, when complete, have been absolutely dark.

As in the case of Dún Beag we shall first describe the fort as it is to be seen at the present day. It is entered by a passage in the east of the massive enclosing wall. This gives access to a triangular space, from which openings lead off, on the left to the central chamber of a suite of three, on the north side: in front to the first of a suite of two chambers, in the middle; and in the right to a piece of waste space in the south of the cathair. This arrangement is shown clearly in the ground plan.

The entrance is 10 feet deep, 2 feet 3 inches wide outside, 3 feet wide inside. The doorway which leads to the northern set of chambers trends N.N.W., is 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 5 feet deep. The central chamber of the three, entered by this door, is roughly circular on plan, the diameter varying from 15 feet 2 inches to 15 feet 10 inches. A rectangular hearth, which occupies the centre of the chamber, is the most interesting feature of the entire cathair. It is defined by upright stones, the tops of which just project above the surface of the ground. It much resembles the hearth in the centre of *Teampull na Teineadh* on the island of Inismurray, and doubtless was provided with a flat hearthstone as was the case in that suggestive and interesting building, until the restorations there were carried out.

The eastward chamber of the three is reached by a door 3 feet 3 inches deep, 1 foot 6 inches across. The diameter of this chamber is 19 feet 6 inches. The only noteworthy feature is a cupboard recess, 4 feet from the northern jamb of the entrance, and 3 feet 1½ inches from the

ground, which may possibly be a valuable testimony to the genuineness of the portion of the wall in which it is found. The height of this recess is 1 foot 1½ inches, the width 1 foot 3 inches, the depth 1 foot 10½ inches.

The westward chamber is 13 feet 7 inches in diameter. A doorway 4 feet deep, 2 feet 1½ inches across—which has recently been severely injured—leads into it. There are two cupboard recesses; the one 7 feet from the northern jamb of the entrance, 1 foot 4½ inches from the ground, 1 foot 9 inches high, 2 feet 3 inches across, and 2 feet deep; the other opposite the entrance, 2 feet 3 inches from the ground, 11 inches high, 1 foot 1½ inches across, and 1 foot 6 inches deep.

The doorway giving admission to the second suite of chambers faces the east, and is 3 feet 3 inches deep, and 2 feet 6 inches wide. The diameter of the first chamber is 17 feet. At the west of the chamber is an opening giving access to a souterrain of the ordinary type, but, for this settlement, of exceptional size; there are the normal two chambers, meeting at an angle, and connected by a narrow entrance: the first of these is 15, the second 20 feet long. I know of but one other souterrain, with the exception of the Dún Beag example, in the barony of Corkaguiney comparable in size with this: it is that in the great cathair at Ballynavenooragh. This souterrain, at the time of my visit, was nearly full of water, so that I am unable to give accurate measurement; it is, however, about 20 feet in length. It does not, however, appear to consist of more than one chamber or passage.

A doorway close by the entrance to the souterrain gives admission to the last of the series of circular chambers. This doorway is 4 feet 6 inches deep, and splays inward from 2 feet 3 inches to 3 feet 8 inches in width. The chamber with which it communicates is between 12 and 13 feet in diameter.

A third doorway leads out of the forecourt into a space of irregular shape to the south of the cathair. Behind this is another space partly filled with the spare *débris* resulting from the restoration works.

The diameter of the entire fort ranges from 70 feet north to south, to 88 feet east to west.

The outer wall is built internally in steps or stages on the north side.

In accordance with the practice of naming these structures after the holder of the land, this fort is usually spoken of as Cathair Murphy by the inhabitants of the district. The name employed by Sir Thomas Deane in his paper—*Cathair Glenfahan*—is, however, not unknown.

It is necessary at this point to make some reference to the brief notice of the fort, contained in the paper just named. This is the only account of the building that I have come across, unless a suspicion that has occurred to me be found to be warranted; namely, that this cathair is actually the No. 10 of Du Noyer's account, and that by some slip of the pen he located it at the wrong place in his map. There is certainly more resemblance between the four chambered clochán-group he figures, and the structure under consideration, than between his account and the meagre remains to be seen on the site actually indicated: and it would be a matter of surprise if this unique structure should have wholly escaped his notice, as well as Windele's.

There is no general account of the cathair contained in Sir Thomas Deane's paper. It presents an extract from the report of Mr. D'Arcy, the parish schoolmaster of Dingle, to whose care the Superintendent of Ancient Monuments has committed the remains in this district, which is entirely devoted to the discovery of the souterrain. The author of the paper has added two brief paragraphs; of which the one claims a high antiquity for the structure, and the other disproves any such claim, by recording the discovery of an ogham inscription, accompanied by crosses, within its precincts. [I found the man who discovered this stone during the works, and from him learnt the exact site in which it stood; it is marked in the accompanying plan.] This very important discovery, with an account of the monument itself, and the conclusions to which it points, are matters for the final portion of this paper, where they will be considered (see pp. 317–322). I may, however, here point out a misapprehension which is evident in the above-mentioned paper. The author says: "It is curious to note that these cells are surrounded by a thick and closely built wall of dry stones, obviously not noted by Burton, and tending to Petrie's theory of great antiquity." The reference is explained by a passage in the opening portion of the paper. "In 1844, Dr. Petrie wrote an interesting letter to the late Sir F. [*sic*] Larcom, pointing out the great interest of the district: and the present Sir F. Burton, who was then an official in Ireland, replied to Petrie in a long and exhaustive letter, in which he rather doubts Petrie's fixing the date of these structures so remote as he was disposed to. Burton bases his objection to remote antiquity on not finding the bee-hive structures, surrounded by a cashel or wall, but I think he must have overlooked many instances where such buildings are so surrounded, especially at Glenfaun." This letter, however, the original of which is bound with the Ordnance Survey MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy's Library, has nothing to say to the Glenfahan district; it is a charming account of the antiquities of a place near Dingle, which Sir F. Burton calls Ballywoterig (misprinted "Ballywolērig" in Stokes' *Life of Petrie*). This is probably meant for Ballinloghig, as there is no such place as Ballywoterig in Corkaguiney. There is no documentary evidence, so far as I know, that Sir F. Burton ever visited the Glenfahan district.

The plan of the *Cathair*, accompanying the paper cited, makes no pretension to being drawn to scale; and it is inverted with respect to the north point, so that everything is turned upside down—the entrance facing west, instead of east, for example.

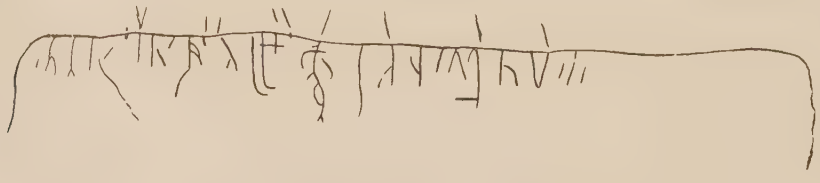

FIG. 9.—Marking on a stone near Cathair Murphy.

There are two stones in the neighbourhood of this structure bearing unintelligible marking resembling that at F 27. I was shown these at the end of the last day of my survey, and had only time to make a MS. copy of the markings on one of these stones, which is here reproduced. They deserve investigation.

G 25. Clochán (10 ·340).

This structure is almost destroyed. It was oval, about 16 feet in diameter, but the wall is nowhere more than 3 feet high, and much of it is altogether destroyed.

G 26. Clochán (10 ·665).

This structure is marked on the twenty-five inch Ordnance map, but nothing is now to be seen of it. In the field marked ·428 is a heap of stones under which is said to be a fine clochán.

G 27. Cathair an dhá dhorus (10 1·289). Plate XVIII, fig. viii, XXIII, fig. vi.

The "fort of the two doors" is the same as that described by Du Noyer, under the name "Caher fada an doruis"—a name which, as O'Curry pointed out, is ungrammatical, and which is not the name applied by the people to the structure. Through the influence of tourists the incorrect name is not unknown, however: but both names bid fair to disappear before "Cathair Sayers"—a name which follows the uniform system of nomenclature employed by the inhabitants of Glenfahan.

This is a triple clochán rather than a cathair, with an independent chamber external to the wall. This feature, strange to say, escaped the notice of Du Noyer, in whose selection this structure is numbered 11. It is built of unusually large stones, and looks ancient: but the circumstance of Du Noyer's having apparently overlooked it, admits a doubt as to whether the structure in question be older than the period of the restoration to which this building was subjected some years ago. The plan (Plate XVIII, fig. viii), through an unfortunate error, has been inverted, the north being the lower part of the drawing.

The long axis of the building runs east and west. It is entered from the south by a doorway, set slightly skew in the wall of the central chamber. This doorway is 7 feet 9 inches deep, and 2 feet 9 inches across. Its aspect is south-east. A causeway rising gently in steps, 9 feet in length, leads up to it: a projecting mass of masonry shelters this causeway.

The central chamber, to which this doorway gives access, is 10 feet in diameter. It is chiefly remarkable for an extraordinary tortuous track, marked out on its floor by small stones set on edge, such as are used to define the hearth in the chamber in G 24. There is a cupboard recess opposite the entrance, 2 feet 8 inches above ground, 1 foot high, 1 foot broad, and 2 feet deep. The entrance to a souterrain of the normal two-chambered type exists at the west of the floor-area. The outer chamber of this souterrain is 10 feet long, running N.N.E. and S.S.W., but with a northward curve near the entrance. The communication between the two chambers is 2 feet 8 inches high, and 1 foot broad: the inner chamber is 10 feet long, 5 feet high, and 3 feet 1 inch broad. Its axis lies north and south.

The western chamber of the cathair is entered by a doorway 3 feet 6 inches behind the opening into the souterrain. It is 3 feet wide, 5 feet 6 inches deep. The diameter of the chamber to which it gives access is 12 feet 6 inches. There is a cupboard-recess in the south wall 3 feet 4 inches from the ground, 1 foot 5 inches high, 1 foot across, and 1 foot 1 inch

deep. There are traces to be seen in the south wall of an external door, now blocked, which would have led on to the causeway running to the fourth chamber.

The eastern chamber measures 13 feet 3 inches in diameter north and south, 14 feet 7 inches east to west. It is entered by a doorway 5 feet deep, 2 feet 6 inches wide in the central chamber, 1 foot 9 inches wide in the inner chamber. The axis of this doorway faces E.S.E. from the central chamber, but there is a considerable curve in its course. There is a projecting stone in the floor, like a fragment of a hearth enclosure. There are also two cupboard-recesses: one in the south of the wall 14 feet from the nearest jamb of the door, 3 feet above ground, 10 inches high, 1 foot 4 inches wide, and 1 foot 3 inches deep; the other, in the north of the wall, 6 feet 6 inches from the door, 3 feet 5 inches above ground, 1 foot high, 1 foot 5 inches across, and 2 feet 6 inches deep. In the floor is a depression full of water, which has been called a "well." This is not possible. It is not connected with any spring, the water it contains being merely stagnant rain-water; and when the chamber was roofed and approximately watertight, even this source of supply would be denied to the "well."

The fourth chamber is attached tangentially to the outside of that just described. It is approached by a paved causeway running from the main entrance, 3 feet 6 inches across. The chamber is circular outside, quadrilateral inside; the lengths of the sides range from 5 feet 6 inches to 6 feet 5 inches. The doorway is 3 feet deep, and 1 foot 7 inches wide. The top of the fourth chamber and the entrance to the eastern chamber are shown in Plate XXIII, fig. vi, which also shows the appearance of the structure as restored.

I do not pretend to justify the popular name of the fort as against the name given by Du Noyer. The latter is certainly the more suitable; but people who had lived in Glenfahan all their lives assured me that they only heard it comparatively recently. There are more than two doors in the fort. If the fourth chamber were removed, and the south doorway of the eastern chamber opened, then there would be two external doors conspicuous on the south side; that is the only reason I can think of to explain why two doors only are mentioned.

In another respect the structure differs from its description as given by Du Noyer. He represents a flight of steps running externally up the south side of the central chamber. There is certainly no justification for such a representation in the fort as it exists at present.

G 28. CLOCHÁN MÓR (9 ·416). Plate XVIII, fig. vi.

This is a double clochán of large dimensions. It presents the peculiarity of having an independent entrance to each chamber in addition to the communication between them.

The eastern chamber is 16 feet 9 inches in diameter. There are two entrances, one facing N.E. by E., set skew in the wall, 3 feet 11 inches deep, 1 foot 9 inches broad; the other facing south, 2 feet 4 inches broad. There is a so-called "well" in this chamber, similar to that described in G 27; it was formerly covered with stones. There is a row of small stones running across the floor of the chamber. These are indicated in the ground plan.

The western chamber is gained by an entrance 4 feet 10 inches long, 3 feet broad. This entrance trends E.S.E. The diameter of the western chamber is 16 feet. There are two cupboard-recesses: the one is opposite the doorway just described, 3 feet from the ground,

1 foot high, 1 foot 1 inch across, and 1 foot 6 inches deep; the other is to the north, 6 feet from the same doorway; it is 3 feet 10 inches from the ground, 7 inches high, 1 foot 6 inches across, and 1 foot 6 inches deep. The independent entrance to this chamber is of small size—2 feet 2 inches broad internally, 2 feet 7 inches externally; outside it seems to be a fore-court —or possibly a third chamber—much ruined and obscure. Between the two entrances to this chamber is the aperture taken by Du Noyer for a window. It does not, however, penetrate the wall, but is a mere recess 6 feet 6 inches from the ground, 1 foot 6 inches high, 11 inches broad, and 2 feet deep.

In the thickness of the wall to the north is a sleeping recess, 10 feet long, 2 feet 10 inches broad, and 3 feet 8 inches high, slightly curved to follow the curvature of the wall. Access to it is gained by a passage 2 feet high, and 1 foot 6 inches across, and 2 feet 8 inches deep.

This is Du Noyer's No. 12. The only detail of his description calling for notice is a reference to a "flight of steps" running externally up the inner chamber. As in the case of G 27 I saw nothing to justify this observation. The structure has undergone slight repair, not so extensive by any means as the restoration to which some of its fellows have been subjected.

G 29. Clochán (9 ·301).

A single-chambered circular clochán, of which nothing can be said, as it was entirely rebuilt to serve as a pigstye by the tenant of the farm among whose buildings it stands.

†G 30, 31. Clochánś (9 ·310, ·132).

Two dilapidated clocháns, of which no definite remains can be traced.

G 32. Clochán na gCat (9, west of ·312). Plate XVIII, fig. iv.

The stone-house of the cats is a circular structure, 19 feet in diameter, filled with field-stones, and partly incorporated in the angle of a modern field-wall. The entrance to the chamber is not visible. The wall of the chamber is 3 feet 3 inches thick.

Around the chamber was a protecting wall, at a distance of 12 feet from it. There is an entrance in this wall facing the south-west. These features are all shown in the plan. This is Du Noyer's No. 13, and last. There is nothing in his description to call for special notice, except the facts that he regarded the wall with which the clochán is incorporated as ancient. I must confess that I saw nothing to justify such a conclusion.

*** This completes the series of remains situated in the cultivated portion of Glenfahan, west of the river. We must now consider those scattered structures to be found in the great moorland expanse indicated on the map as 209·897, with the portion along the west bank of the Glenfahan river, indicated 23·467. We shall commence at the top of Beennacouma, and work downwards.

*G 33. Fotharach na mBitheamhnach.

The "robbers' ruin" is a large circular enclosure on the extreme top of Beennacouma,

18 feet in diameter. On the southern side a natural outcrop of rock is adapted as part of the wall. The door faces the east, and is 1 foot 6 inches across. The remains are now utilised as a sheepfold.

There are no definite legends attaching to this structure, so far as I could find: but it is quite possible that it was used as a hiding- or store-place by thieves in comparatively modern times. Other structures in the western portion of this settlement are associated with the names of robbers: see the articles Tint Taidhg (CS 3) and Leaba Amhalghadha (CN 14).

*G 34. Clochán Dréimide (No. I).

Three clocháns situated on the "saddle" or pass between Beennacouma and Mount Eagle are called *Clochan Dréimide*, or "the stone house of the saddle."* They are all called so simply on account of their position; they are not near enough to be classed together as a group.

The present structure is D-shaped, the straight side running W.N.W. and E.S.E., and measuring 6 feet 6 inches long. There is a considerable oversail in the wall. The chamber lies on the west side of the straight wall: the outer face is broken away. The diameter at the observable height is 7 feet. The entrance faced due south, but is broken; it is 2 feet 3 inches high, 1 foot 9 inches across; it is much distorted and blocked up.

*G 35. Clochán Dréimide (No. II).

A triple clochán. The eastern chamber, which is a parallelogram, measures 16 feet by 11 feet: the long sides lie north by west, and south by east. The door is in the middle of the western side; the jambs stand to a height of 1 foot 7 inches, and are 1 foot 3 inches apart; at the top of one of these a semicircular notch is cut. This chamber is a mere ruin. The second chamber lies to the S.S.W. of the first, and 10 feet distant from it. This is even more dilapidated: it is approximately circular, 7 feet in diameter. There is a cupboard recess on the level of the ground, 1 foot high, 9 inches across, 1 foot 9 inches deep. The third chamber is adjacent to the second, and in a line with its companions: it is in better preservation. This is of the rock-shelter type, one side being formed of a great stone *in situ*, lying southward and north-east, 8 feet 6 inches wide, and 9 feet high, but sloping in such a position that its summit is 6 feet 9 inches from the ground, and oversails 4 feet 9 inches over the base. On the floor the diameter of the chamber is 8 feet 9 inches. At the west end of the curved side is a small subsidiary chamber, built of large stones: it lies north-east and south-west, and is 5 feet deep: the vertical section is a triangle, of 4 feet base, and 3 feet 2 inches height. The door of this chamber faces the south-east, is 2 feet 3 inches high, and 1 foot 6 inches wide.

*G 36. Clochán Dréimide (No. III).

A circular clochán, 13 feet 9 inches in diameter. The door faced east by north, and was

* The boy who gave me the name *Clochán Dréimide*, explained it as meaning "The clochán of the ladder." He was obviously thinking of *Dréimire*. I have no hesitation in adopting the form given in the text on account of its evident applicability.

2 feet broad: there was another door on the west side, now blocked, 2 feet 9 inches high, and 2 feet 6 inches broad. The wall is well built with retaining stones, and more care is given to bonding the masonry than is usual. The oversail is irregular, but is about 1 foot 6 inches in 3 feet 9 inches. The wall is 3 feet 6 inches thick.

*G 37. Rock-shelter.

An irregular structure, in fair preservation, built against a large overhanging rock. The long axis runs E.N.E. and W.S.W., and is 11 feet 6 inches in length: the cross axis is 7 feet. The roof is 3 feet high, but rises to 5 feet 4 inches. There is a hole running into the hillside under the rock, over 5 feet in length: this is too small to be entered, being merely formed by an irregularity in the rock, but it probably did duty as a cupboard-recess.

*G 38. Clochán.

A circular clochán, 13 feet in diameter. The door faces the east, and is 1 foot 6 inches in width. The wall is coarsely built, 4 feet thick, and oversailing 1 foot 3 inches in 4 feet 6 inches.

*G 39. Clochán.

A pair of clochán at a short distance from one another. The first is approximately circular, much ruined, 5 feet in diameter, and built of large stones. There is little or no oversail in the wall, which seems at some time to have been interfered with. The second is 9 feet 3 inches in diameter at the observable height: the wall is 4 feet thick: the entrance probably faced the south-east, but the chamber is filled with stones, and all details are obscured.

*G 40. Clochán Ban.

The "clochán of women" is boat-shaped, the long axis lying N.N.W. and S.S.E., and measuring 8 feet 3 inches in length; the cross-axis is 6 feet long. About 3 feet 6 inches of the walls remain, in which height there is an oversail of 10 inches on the eastern, considerably more on the western side. The doorway is 2 feet high, 1 foot 6 inches across; the thickness of the wall is 2 feet 8 inches. A dilapidated terrace, about 5 feet long, leads to the door.

The important cathair next to be described is 278 feet distant from this, and though the two structures have similar names there is no evidence of any connexion between them.

*G 41. Cathair Ban. Plate XXII, fig. iii.

This interesting and hitherto unknown group is situated on a platform naturally formed on the hill side. The place is well protected by nature; the hill slope below it is steep, above it precipitous and rocky. The cathair consists of six chambers and two souterrains, with traces on the north side of a boundary wall: the plan gives their relative positions.

G 41 *a* is 13 feet in diameter with a wall 4 feet thick. The entrance faces E.S.E., is 2 feet wide and 4 feet 7 inches deep; the wall being slightly thickened at the jambs.

G 41 *b*. This lies south-west of the preceding; it is D-shaped, much ruined: the entrance traces eastward, and has upright jamb-stones; it is 3 feet across.

A curved wall, built in modern times to provide a support for a turf-rick, lies south-west of G 41 *b*.

G 41 *c* is a ruined chamber, apparently quadrangular, but much ruined; it is 10 feet across; the doorway faced south.

G 41 *d* is also very ruinous. The walls were about 2 feet 6 inches thick, built of large stones; the internal diameter is 5 feet; the doorway faces south-east.

The souterrain in this portion of the cathair is the most northerly feature of the group. It consists of a passage 5 feet in length, running in a north-westerly direction; there is then a doorway, 1 foot 6 inches wide which leads into a chamber 5 feet by 2 feet 8 inches, and 2 feet 4 inches high.

G 41 *e* is oval on plan, but it has been modified in recent times to serve as a storage for turf.

G 41 *f* is a mere heap of stones that seems to be the remains of a very small clochán.

There is a second souterrain north of G 41 *e*, now broken into on the top: it seems to have been a circular or oval chamber rather than a passage, but is so much ruined that little can be said about it.

*G 42. CLOCHÁN.

This is close by the river: it is much ruined; 14 feet in diameter; the entrance faces south-east, and is 2 feet 8 inches wide.

*G 43. PUCA NA NASAL.

The "asses' fold" is difficult to work out, owing to the dense growth of heath with which its foundation is concealed. It consists of two chambers with apparently a bed-recess between them, like the similar feature at Loc Cábún. The northern chamber has two entrances, the one facing the north-west, the other opposite. There is a causeway leading to the south-eastern entrance. The north-western doorway is 2 feet 4 inches across at the observable height. The diameter of this chamber is 10 feet 3 inches at the observable level, which, owing to the accumulation of *débris*, is some distance above the height of the floor of this chamber.

The second chamber is much dilapidated.

*G 44. CLOCHÁN AIS. Plate XXII, fig. iv.

The "stronghold clochán" is a structure of considerable complexity of plan, and is one of the most interesting of the entire series. The ground-plan of the following members:—

G 44 *a*, a complex structure of five chambers and an open yard; it consists of a great central apartment, circular on plan, 14 feet in diameter, entered by a doorway about 2 feet 5 inches wide facing the east. Outside this entrance is a yard or fore-court, 9 feet 7 inches in diameter, with a doorway 1 foot 3 inches across opposite the doorway of the chamber. Attached to the outer wall of the main chamber on the north is a small semicircular

apartment which communicated with the central chamber by a door now destroyed. This room is 4 feet 4 inches east to west, 3 feet 9 inches north to south internally. To the south of the main chamber is a group of three small apartments, provided with independent doorways. That to the north is circular, 4 feet 9 inches in diameter, with a doorway facing E.N.E. West and south of it are the other two, each of which open into a central passage 4 feet 2 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches wide—an arrangement which recalls that of G 7*a*. The north-western chamber measures 5 feet 6 inches north to south, 4 feet 3 inches east to west, and is entered by a doorway 1 foot 9 inches wide. The southern chamber is only 2 feet 3 inches across. South of it seems to be an enclosure of some kind.

G 44 *b*. A bed-recess, marked by a standing stone: this is 7 feet 9 inches long, 2 feet 10 inches across, and 2 feet 4 inches high. The long axis lies north-east and south-west.

G 44 *c*. A subsidiary clochán, connected with the bed by a line of large stones 50 feet in length, trending south-west. It is a small circular building, 6 feet 7 inches in diameter. The walls oversail 3 feet 6 inches in a height of 5 feet. The door faces north-east. There are no cupboard recesses, which perhaps may be taken as indicating that it is not a residence independent of the group of buildings with which it is associated.

One of my guides declared that *Ais* (pronounced "ash") was merely an adaptation of the English word "ass." But I prefer the translation above given.

*G 45. Clochán Nuadh.

This very fine clochán is D-shaped on plan, the straight side running E.S.E. and W.N.W. The length of the straight side is 13 feet 6 inches, the cross-diameter 8 feet 6 inches. The oversail is gentle and irregular. The door faces east, being at the eastern end of the curved side: it is 2 feet 6 inches across and has two jamb-stones. In the centre of the straight side is an opening 2 feet high, 1 foot 6 inches across and 1 foot deep, giving entrance to a chamber in the thickness of the wall, 3 feet 9 inches long, 2 feet 9 inches high and 3 feet across. On the west side, 5 feet from the adjacent angle, is a flat stone, 3 feet 3 inches high, projecting from 3 to 12 inches out at right angles to the wall. This may mark the beginning of a partition. There is a cupboard recess 8 feet from the north jamb of the entrance, 1 foot 3 inches from the ground, 10 inches high, 10 inches across, and 2 feet 3 inches deep.

*G 46. Clochán.

A small circular structure, 6 feet in diameter at the observable height. The door faces S.E.: its width is now 1 foot.

*G 47. Clochán.

A small structure trapezoidal on plan; the sides range from 4 to 8 feet in length. The door is at the south-east corner.

*G 48. Clochán.

A small circular structure, 7 feet in diameter. The door faces south-east.

*G 49. CLOCHÁN.

A circular structure, 9 feet 10 inches in diameter. The door faces W.N.W., and is 2 feet 6 inches wide.

*G 50. CLOCHÁN.

A D-shaped clochán with walls 5 feet thick. The straight side is 10 feet long and lies N.E. and S.W. The diameter is 6 feet. The door is in the middle of the straight side.

*G 51. CLOCHÁN.

A dilapidated double clochán, the axis lying E.S.E. and W.N.W. The greater chamber is 14 feet in diameter, the lesser 5 feet. The door faces south.

*G 52. CLOCHÁN.

A very small circular chamber, 4 feet 5 inches in diameter, with a doorway 2 feet 3 inches across facing E.S.E.

A rock-shelter or natural cave in the neighbourhood of these structures is called *Pruaisin an tobac*—"the little den of the tobacco"—probably because it was used as a smuggler's hiding-place. (This suggestion is due to Mr. Curran).

*G 53. CLOCHÁN BÁN.

The "white clochán" is three-chambered. The principal apartment in circular, 11 feet in diameter, with a door facing south, 1 foot 9 inches across. There are two cupboard-recesses in the chamber, the one 2 feet above ground, 1 foot 3 inches high, 9 inches across and 1 foot 5 inches deep, the other 2 feet to the northward from the first, 2 feet above the ground, 1 foot high, 1 foot across, and 1 foot 7 inches deep.

A passage communicates with the second chamber, which is quadangular, with side oriented to the cardinal points, and 4 feet 6 inches in length.

On the north side of this passage is the third chamber, 3 feet in diameter, with a door 2 feet in height.

*G 54. CLOCHÁN.

The much abraded foundation of apparently a D-shaped structure.

*G 55. CLOCHÁN LIATH.

The "grey stone house" is circular, 7 feet 9 inches in diameter at the observable level—the floor being filled with *débris*—and surrounded by a wall 3 feet 7 inches thick. The door faced the south, and was about 1 foot 6 inches across.

*** The above are all the structures found by me in the great unbroken moorland north of Glenfahan. The following are in the south-west of the townland. We shall first consider those in the area marked 57·381, proceeding from east to west.

*G 56. CLOCHÁN.

A dilapidated structure of which nothing can be predicated.

*G 57. Clochán.

A group of three structures, all too much injured to describe with any definiteness.

G 58. Clochán Sgológa.

This is a quadruple clochán, with a bed recess in the wall of the inner chamber. The first or southern apartment is 13 feet 7 inches in diameter. Access to it is gained by a door on the east side, roofed by three lintels, 3 feet 2 inches wide inside, 3 feet 3 inches outside; its depth is 4 feet 7½ inches, its height 4 feet 2 inches, and its aspect east by south. There is an avenue leading to it formed of stones set on edge, measuring 10 feet in length; the sides are curved like a pair of brackets, so that at the widest place the width is 7 feet 9 inches. A doorway 2 feet 6 inches in width, and 2 feet 6 inches high, communicates with the inner room, which is slightly D-shaped. The diameter is about 12 feet. The bed recess is 4 feet 10 inches long, and 1 foot 6 inches wide; the roof being gone, its original height cannot be ascertained. The wall, 1 foot 6 inches of which is still standing, is thickened to contain this recess.

There are the vague foundations of two other chambers north of that just described: they are separated by a wall running northward for 14 feet. The chamber to the east of this wall was about 6 feet, that to the west about 9 feet, in diameter. No architectural features are traceable.

This structure is also called *Clochán Sileóid*, a name with whose meaning I am unacquainted.

*G 59. Clochán na n-óigh.

The "Clochán of the Virgins" is a group of three very rude rock-shelters, arranged in a triangle.

G 59 *a* is a rock-shelter, the rock lying E.N.E. and W.S.W. The entrance is in the centre of the curved side, and is 1 foot 6 inches wide. The diameter is 8 feet. The structure is much ruined.

G 59 *b* is also a rock-shelter, about 50 feet distant from the preceding. It is of similar character to, and in a similar condition to, that of G 59 *a*.

G 59 *c* is an oval clochán, the long axis lying N.N.W. and S.S.E. The entrance faces the S.E., and is 2 feet 6 inches wide. The wall stands to a height of 4 feet at the north side, and oversails 2 feet in that height. In this side there is a cupboard-recess on the level of the ground, 1 foot 6 inches high, 1 foot 6 inches wide, and 3 feet high. The rock against which the wall is built is 15 feet in length, and 8 feet high; about 10 feet of the rock is within the building, and the wall stands out 5 feet from it.

*G 60. Clochán.

A small circular structure, 7 feet 8 inches in diameter; the wall oversails 2 feet 6 inches—an unusually rapid overlap. The entrance faces south, and is 2 feet 3 inches across, 3 feet 6 inches deep. There is a cupboard-recess opposite the door.

*G 61. CLOCHÁN.

A much-dilapidated clochán, 8 feet 9 inches in internal diameter, and with wall 3 feet 6 inches thick. A large flat stone in the foundation gives the floor a D-shape. The door faces south, and is 1 foot 9 inches wide.

*G 62. CLOCHÁN AN DHRAIGHEANA.

The "stone house of the blackthorn" is reduced to a shell, now incorporated in a field-wall. About half the structure remains; it was a circle, about 10 feet 6 inches in diameter. In the remaining height (4 feet 3 inches) the oversail amounts to 1 foot 11 inches. There are indications suggesting that the entrance was at the spot where the existing portion comes to an end on the eastern side.

*G 63. CLOCHÁN.

A large clochán, approximately circular, 14 feet in diameter. There were entrances at the eastern and western sides; but these are too much defaced to be reliably measured. On the east are the foundations of two small chambers: one of these is practically annihilated; the other was about 8 feet in diameter, and was entered on the east by a doorway, 1 foot 6 inches across. It communicated with the large chamber through the eastern door.

*G 64. CLOCHÁN AN EIDHNE.

The "Ivy Clochán" consists of two chambers:—

G 64 *a* is slightly oval in shape, the principal axis being 14 feet 6 inches in length. The entrance faced the east; one jambstone, 2 feet 9 inches in height, is standing. The rest of the wall is levelled except at the north side. Here there is a boat-shaped bed-recess, 3 feet 3 inches in width, 6 feet 11 inches in length, formed by building a curved wall against the inside of the main wall. There is apparently a cupboard close to the western end of this recess; but the wall is so broken that this is doubtful.

G 64 *b* is the foundation of a small oval, 15 feet south-east of the preceding. The long axis lies E.N.E. and W.S.W., and measures about 7 feet 3 inches; the short axis is about 5 feet. One jamb remains of the entrance, which was at the west end of the long axis. This doorway was about 1 foot 3 inches across.

*** The following structures are in the field marked 7·693.

*G 65. CLOCHÁN.

A damaged clochán, apparently with a passage leading to the entrance, lying south-west of Clochán na gCat, above described (G 32).

*G 66. CLOCHÁN.

A much-dilapidated clochán, of which reliable measurement cannot be taken; it has been interfered with to make a support for a turf-rick.

In the neighbourhood are some modern clochán-like lamb-folds.

*G 67. Clochán.

A much-ruined triple clochán. The most perfect chamber is in the E.N.E.; it is D-shaped, the straight side lying almost east and west, and measuring 3 feet 9 inches in length; the chamber being 4 feet 9 inches across. The entrance is about 1 foot across; it is at the east end of the curved side. West of this room is the foundation of a much-dilapidated chamber; and south-west is another, about 5 feet in diameter, with entrance, 1 foot 6 inches across, facing the E.S.E.

*G 68. Clochán.

A D-shaped chamber, the straight side running N.N.E. to S.S.W. The entrance is at the north end, and is 1 foot 9 inches wide: the jamb-stones are 2 feet 8 inches high, but have fallen, and the door is distorted. There is a small chamber adjacent at the south side, about 3 feet 3 inches in diameter; the entrance cannot be distinguished.

Twenty feet to the west is an angle of stones built up, which may be the corner of a dilapidated building adapted as a sheep-shelter.

G 69. Clochán.

A small circular structure, 8 feet 5 inches in diameter, with wall 3 feet thick. The entrance faces S.E. by S., and is 2 feet wide. There is a cupboard recess 4 feet round from the door on the south side, 10 inches high, 1 foot across, and 1 foot 6 inches deep.

On the west side are the foundations of an adjacent chamber, with independent entrances to the south and west: the diameter of this chamber, which is much ruined, is 7 feet 6 inches.

*** The following are in the field marked 3·223 on the seaward side of the road.

G 70. Clochán. Plate XXIII, fig. vii.

A single circular chamber in good preservation; the door faces the S.E. The diameter is 9 feet 6 inches east to west, 6 feet 6 inches north to south. The height of the chamber is 7 feet 6 inches. The top-stones alone have been removed; the oversail to the height of 5 feet is gentle, after which the wall closes in rapidly. The door is 3 feet high and 2 feet 3 inches across. In front is a fore-court, possibly modern, as the structure is used for a sheepfold.

*G 71. Clochán.

The shell of a circular building 10 feet in diameter. The entrance faces E.S.E., and is 1 foot 9 inches across. There may have been a terrace leading to it, as there are traces of such a feature.

*** The following are in the field marked 17·130, in the S.W. corner of the townland: this field is called the *Páirc Gharbh*, or rough field—a name it well merits.

G 72. Clochán na Muiríghne Móire. Plate XVIII, fig. v.

The "stone house of the large family" is a double clochán of the usual type. The

outer chamber has two doors—one facing E.S.E., the other 3 feet from the seaward jamb of the first. The E.S.E. door is 2 feet 3 inches wide, 3 feet 6 inches high, and 4 feet 3 inches deep: the other is 5 feet 3 inches high, 3 feet 6 inches wide at bottom, 1 foot 6 inches wide at top, and 3 feet 6 inches deep. Both doors are set skew in the wall. The diameter of the outer chamber is 15 feet 6 inches. An entrance 4 feet 9 inches high, 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 4 feet 3 inches deep, gives admission to the inner chamber: this entrance has a double lintel. The inner chamber is 11 feet in diameter. On the north side of this chamber, a quadrant round from the door is a deep cupboard recess on the ground level, 3 feet 6 inches high, the same deep, and 10 inches high: the sides are supported by upright jambs. The axis of the building lies E.S.E. and W.N.W. The ground-plan shows the arrangement of chamber and door.

This structure has undergone extensive restoration in recent years*.

†G 73. LOC NA LUINGE MÓIRE. Plate XVIII, fig. vii.

The "place of the large ship" is a rectangular structure, the long walls (north to south) being 15 feet8 inches, the short walls 8 feet 2 inches in length. The walls are 3 feet 3 inches thick; the oversail is irregular. The eastern wall is slightly convex in plan. The doorway, which measures 1 foot 9 inches across, is at the eastern end of the south side; it has a threshold 10 inches above the ground. There is a cupboard recess 1 foot 3 inches from the south end of the west wall, 2 feet 9 inches above the ground, 1 foot high, 1 foot 3 inches across, and 1 foot 6 inches deep: the presence of this feature proves that the building is not a modern turf-rick receptacle, which it resembles on plan. There is a courtyard to the east of this structure defined by a wall 2 feet thick starting from the west jamb of the door, and running 3 feet 6 inches southward, then 10 feet eastward, and then 16 feet northward. At the south end of the last portion of the wall is a lintelled opening through it, on the ground level, 1 foot 6 inches high, and 2 feet 3 inches across. The plan clearly shows the character of this very curious building.

†G 74. CLOCHÁN.

This is the surviving member of a composite structure. Its floor is sunk below the present level of the ground, and is nearly perfect. The dimensions are: diameter, 6 feet; height, 5 feet 2 inches; width of doorway, 1 foot 5 inches; height of doorway, 1 foot 3 inches externally, 2 feet internally—the difference being accounted for by the downward slope of the floor of the entrance. The aspect of the doorway is south by east.

In the front of the entrance are the foundations of a chamber approximately circular on plan, about 4 feet 6 inches in diameter. An entrance of indeterminate width led to a third chamber 10 feet in diameter, of which foundations remain. The second chamber may possibly have been an open court.

*G 75. CLOCHÁN.

This was a large circular building, 18 feet in diameter. Its site is for the most part marked by the retaining stones alone, which at a little distance resemble a stone circle.

* The lithographer has unfortunately inverted the plan of this building: the north-point must be turned the other way.

The small stones, except at the northern end, have been removed to build into a neighbouring wall. At the remaining fragment the oversail is 1 foot 6 inches to a height of 4 feet. There were two entrances: the first, at the west, was 3 feet wide; the second facing E.S.E., apparently about 2 feet 6 inches. The foundations of what appear to have been a subordinate chamber remain on the north side: this was 5 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 9 inches wide. There is a considerable amount of *débris* scattered about, but no other details are recoverable.

G 76. Clochán.

A double (or possibly quadruple) clochán; but like all in this part of the townland, much dilapidated, the stones having been appropriated for road metal. The western shell of the principal chamber remains: it is 10 feet in diameter, and the fragment of the wall shows a rapid oversail, 1 foot 6 inches in 2 feet 2 inches. The door probably faced southward. Seven feet east of the above are the remains of another chamber, which is rectangular, 5 feet long and 3 feet wide, the long axis being north and south.

There are indefinite traces of a chamber east of the second, and of another between the two above described.

*G 77. Rock Shelter. Plate XXIV, fig. ii.

This clochán is shaped, on plan, like an open fan, the angle being right, and pointing northward. The north-western wall is entirely composed of a great slab of stone, 9 feet high, 7 feet 6 inches across; this stone is known as *Leac na Luinge Móire*, though what a "big ship" had to do with it or with G 73 I was unable to find out. The door is at the eastern end of the curved side; it is 2 feet in width. The wall is 2 feet 9 inches thick. There is a cupboard-recess in the curved side, 3 feet 9 inches from its western end, 2 feet 3 inches above ground, 1 foot 3 inches across, 1 foot 6 inches deep, and 1 foot 3 inches high.

TOWNLAND OF COUMEENOOLE SOUTH

*CS 1. Tint Taidhg (9 13·681).

Tadhg was a robber of local reputation, possibly the eponymous hero of Coosagaddee, *Cús an ghaduidhe*, "the thief's creek," near the village of Coumeenoole. We have already found thieves at G 33. The word *tint* is merely Irish-English for "tent." Tadhg made the principal clochán of this group his store or hiding-place.

The group is situated on the summit of the hill above Slea Head, at a height of 766 feet above the sea-level, commanding a glorious view of the Blaskets and Coumeenoole Bay. It consists of one structure of moderate dimensions, accompanied by a considerable number of very small huts: all of the latter are much ruined.

CS 1 *a*. The refuge of Tadhg is an excellent specimen of the smaller type of clochán. It is approximately circular on plan, the internal diameter being 7 feet 2 inches north to south, 6 feet east to west. The wall is standing to a height of 3 feet: in that height

the oversail amounts to 1 foot 8 inches. The thickness of the wall is 2 feet, but is slightly increased at the doorway. The doorway faces the east, and is 2 feet 4 inches wide, 1 foot 8 inches high externally, 1 foot 3 inches wide, 1 foot 6 inches high internally. There is a small cupboard-recess in the wall on the south side, 3 feet round from the nearest jamb of the door; this is 1 foot 8 inches above ground, 5 inches high, 7½ inches across, and 10 inches deep. Except for the loss of the roof and the incorporation of the clochán with a modern wall, this very interesting little building is uninjured.

CS 1 *b*. This and the remaining structures of the group are practically destroyed. In the present case the floor of the structure was below the level of the surrounding land, and the depression, with the inside of the wall of the hut, is still to be seen; but the wall does not rise upon the surface of the ground, and the top of the existing masonry is covered with sods and is overgrown. The clochán was oval, the long axis, north to south, being 5 feet 6 inches, the shorter axis 3 feet 9 inches in length. The entrance faces the east, and measures 2 feet in width. CS 1 *b* is about 33 feet S.E. of CS 1 *a*.

CS 1 *c*. The condition of this structure is similar to that of the last. It was built of remarkably small stones. The plan is oval, the long axis (north by west to south by east) is 6 feet in length; the width at the northern end is 1 foot 6 inches, in the middle, 3 feet 3 inches. The wall was about 2 feet thick. The entrance was probably at the southern end where the clochán is now completely destroyed. CS 1 *c* is about 13 feet south of CS 1 *b*.

CS 1 *d*. This structure is in a very ruined state. It is oval, the long axis (east to west) being 5 feet 2 inches, the shorter axis about 4 feet 3 inches in length. The entrance cannot be traced. CS 1 *d* is about 10 feet east of CS 1 *c*.

CS 1 *e*. In plan and condition this structure resembles its associates. It is oval; the long axis (north-west to south-east) is 4 feet in length, the minor axis 2 feet 3 inches. CS 1 *e* is about 18 feet N.W. of CS 1 *d*.

CS 1 *f*. This appears to have been a quadrilateral building, 8 feet across over all: but there is nothing definite that can be said about it, as it has become reduced to a mere grassy mound. CS 1 *f* is about 22 feet N.N.E. of CS 1 *e*.

CS 1 *g*. This was a small circular building, but it has been filled up and overgrown. It is traceable merely as a mound of stones and earth, though there can be no doubt as to its character. The diameter over all is 6 feet 8 inches. CS 1 *g* is about 55 feet E.S.E. of CS 1 *f*.

The approximate distances between the structures are reckoned from their centres.

CS 2. CLOCHÁN NA MBARDAN (9 19·087). Plate XXII, fig. ii.

Bardan seems to be the name of the field in which this structure and its attendant group stands, or that of its occupiers. The very elaborate group now to be considered is shown in the plan.

CS 2 *a* is a complex structure, the characteristic peculiarity of which consists in its enclosing small chambers, built as separate clochán, within the area of a larger structure of the same nature. This system is also exemplified by CS 10. The building under discussion

consists of a large court enclosing two—possibly three—clochán within its walls, one of which contains two subsidiary clochán and a small souterrain.

Considerable remains of the large, or subdivided, clochán alone survive; it will, therefore, be convenient to commence our description with an account of this member of the building. It is very irregular on plan: the internal diameter is 15 feet east to west, 11 feet 3 inches north to south. The entrance seems to have been to the south-west, but this is doubtful. The wall remains to a height of 3 feet 3 inches at the northern side, but an extra foot has been added, and the western wall has been continued southward for some distance to adapt the clochán as a sheepfold. The souterrain opens in the south side of the chamber. The entrance is 1 foot 3 inches high and 2 feet wide, but owing to the accumulation of earth immediately outside, it is impossible to enter through it. Measurements with a rod, however, show the cave to be 4 feet 9 inches deep, and to be wedge-shaped on plan. The lintel over the entrance to the souterrain is a very large stone, 5 feet in length.

The subsidiary chambers are on the east side of the clochán. The southern chamber is 4 feet deep, and entered by a doorway 2 feet 2 inches inches in width, and 1 foot 6 inches high. It is impossible to enter the northern chamber owing to the awkward skew setting of the doorway. This is 5 feet in extreme depth: the doorway is 1 foot 3 inches in height, and 1 foot 6 inches in width. The slope of the external face of the wall around the main chamber is approximately 50 degrees. *Débris* of the upper part of the wall are scattered around especially on the northern and eastern sides.

The court, of which the clochán just described formed a portion, is very much ruined, and it is impossible to ascertain the original thickness of the walls. One wall runs for a length of 13 feet in a direction north by west and south by east, starting at the southern end opposite the entrance to the smaller of the subordinate chambers (see the plan). This wall ends in a small clochán, now fallen in and turfed over, measuring 5 feet north to south, 6 feet east to west. The entrance to the court was immediately east of this structure, which may, therefore, with some probability be regarded as a guardhouse. The entrance just mentioned seems to have been about 2 feet 6 inches wide. From the jamb of this door to the eastern angle of the yard was probably about 14 feet. There may have been another clochán on the eastward side of the entrance, but on this it is impossible to speak positively.

CS 2 *b*. This seems to have been an elaborate multiple clochán, of the ordinary type. The much abraded outlines of four small chambers may be traced with a very careful examination. The dimensions cannot be accurately determined. Excavation in one of these revealed a number of limpet shells.

CS 2 *c*. A simpler example of the court-type of multiple clochán than the more elaborate CS 2 *a*. The court is 10 to 11 feet thick, with walls 2 feet 3 inches in width—the slender thickness suggesting that the circle was not meant to be roofed over. Doubtful traces remain of subsidiary chambers to the west, north, and east: the first of these being in the thickness of the wall, but long filled up. The entrance is towards the east. This structure is immediately adjacent to CS 2 *b*.

CS 2 *d* is a perfect single clochán, irregular on plan, the chamber being three-sided. The

doorway is 2 feet 2 inches high, 2 feet 3 inches wide. The chamber is 2 feet 9 inches high, and is roofed with three large lintel stones. A small clochán-like sheepfold has recently been constructed adjoining this structure on the north: as it happened, the builder of this intrusion was one of my guides over the townland.

CS 2 *e*. A single clochán, boat-shaped on plan; the major axis (N.N.E. to S.S.W.) is 7 feet 6 inches in length; the sides are of different curvature. The doorway which is 1 foot 9 inches wide, is in the middle of the eastern wall, 3 feet 9 inches from its northern end. The walls are 3 feet thick. The roof of the structure has happened to fall in such a manner that at first sight the clochán appears to be double, which, however, is not the case.

CS 2 *f*. A circular clochán-group of the court type, but underground foundations alone remain of the subordinate structures. There are traces of three internal chambers, the approximate dimensions of which are as follows:—

Position in the Group	Diameter North to South	Diameter East to West
South	1 foot 6 inches	3 feet
North	3 feet	4 feet
North-East	3 feet	2 feet 6 inches

The diameter of the "court" ranges from 13 feet east to west to 10 feet 6 inches north to south. The wall, which remains to a height of 2 feet only, is 2 feet thick, and probably was not oversailed. The entrance faced the south-east, but, the wall being at this point destroyed, the width cannot be determined.

†CS 3. Loc an Chinn (*ib.*). Plate XXII, fig. i.

The "Place of the Head" (*i.e.* Slea Head) is a group of five clochán, one of which is sufficiently ruined to attest the ancient character of the series. The Ordnance map denotes the group as "sheepfold." The plan shows the relative position of the component parts.

CS 3 *a* is a circular building in the west of the group, and is the largest of the series. Its diameter is 12 feet. This structure is unique in possessing three external doorways; there was probably a fourth where the eastern side is destroyed. The north door is blocked up: it was 1 foot 8½ inches high, 1 foot 5 inches across. The west door is distorted, and its dimensions cannot accurately be ascertained: the height was probably about 2 feet 6 inches, the width about 2 feet. This doorway was built with upright jambstones which remain, though fallen together. The south door is a mere ruin; the width seems to have been 3 feet, but it has become blocked with *débris*, so that not more than 8 inches are clear. The structure has been roughly built up on the west and north to shelter sheep.

CS 3 *b*. This is a small clochán in perfect condition. The doorway faces west, and measures 1 foot 2 inches in width, 1 foot 8 inches in height. It has, however, become distorted. The height of the chamber is 2 feet.

CS 3 *c*. This clochán is also small and perfect. The chamber is 3 feet high. The entrance

faces S.S.W., and measures 1 foot 6 inches in height, 1 foot in width. The lintel is 3 feet in length. The internal diameter of the chamber is only 4 feet 8 inches.

CS 3 *d*. This is an oval building erected against the steep face of the hillside. The entrance is 1 foot 5 inches wide, 1 foot 10 inches high. The structure has been adapted as a fold for lambs, and patched where necessary.

CS 3 *e*. This is the foundation of a small building apparently D-shaped: it is much ruined, and a considerable part of it is barely traceable. One jamb of the door stands *in situ*, and is the chief relic of the structure: it is a stone 2 feet 10 inches in height, 1 foot 6 inches by 9 inches at the base, tapering upwards.

*CS 4. Clochán (*ib.*).

A large well-built structure, erected against the hillside, the steep rocky face of which forms its south-eastern wall. The chamber is oval: the long axis—E.N.E. to W.S.W.—is 10 feet 6 inches in length, the minor axis 5 feet. The roof is covered with six large lintels stepping upwards to the end opposite the entrance, where the chamber reaches its greatest height—5 feet 3 inches. The entrance faces north-east, and measures 2 feet 10 inches in height, 2 feet 5 inches in width. The wall is 1 foot 3 inches thick. The south-eastern jamb of the door is formed of one standing-stone: the opposite jamb is built up.

There are traces of a roughly-built enclosure round the entrance, but these are much destroyed. A wall runs at right angles to the cliff face against which the clochán is built, in a north-western direction: it is about 10 feet long, and starts at a spot 9 feet 9 inches E.N.E. of the entrance. This is too much ruined to determine the treatment with exactness.

*CS 5. Well (*ib.*).

A dripping well, surrounded by a wall of uncertain period; internal diameter of the enclosure, 10 feet.

*CS 6. Clochán Páirce an Chinn (*ib.*).

The "Field of the Head" (Slea Head), after which this clochán takes its name, is that which contains the series of structures at present being described. The clochán specially named after this field is an oval, the long axis of which (north-east to south-west) measures 10 feet 6 inches, the cross axis 6 feet 10 inches. The door seems to have been repaired: it is at present 3 feet 9 inches high, 2 feet 3 inches across; its aspect is N.N.W., and its position at the southern end of the western side.

The wall is 2 feet 6 inches thick, and is built of fairly large stones: about 5 feet remain of its height, in which is an oversail of 1 foot 9 inches more or less—the structure is irregularly set out. A causeway seems to have run to the entrance, but not more than 2 feet 3 inches of it are definitely traceable.

*CS 7. Clochán (*ib.*).

This building was 35 feet to the N.W. of CS 6. The foundation alone remains. It is oval on plan, but nearly circular; the major axis (north-east to south-west) measures 7 feet, the minor axis 5 feet 6 inches. The doorway faces S.S.E., and is 1 foot 6 inches in width.

*CS 8. CLOCHÁN (9 1·304).

This structure is canoe-shaped on plan. It is now impossible to enter the building, as the doorway, always small, has settled and become distorted. By inserting a rod, however, it is possible to determine the dimensions with sufficient accuracy: length, 11 feet; breadth, 5 feet; total height externally, 4 feet 6 inches; the walls are 2 feet thick. The doorway faces north; its original dimensions were approximately 2 feet in height and 1 foot 9 inches across.

A modern yard has been built at the side of this structure to shelter sheep.

CS 9. CLOCHÁN (9 1·208).

This building is in the south-west corner of the field indicated. It was apparently quadrilateral, but portions of a north-east and a north-west wall alone remain. The field-wall on the south displays a slight curve at this point, so that another portion may possibly be incorporated with it. Nowhere do more than 3 feet of the walls remain. The diameter north to south seem to have been 13 feet. The doorway is 6 feet 6 inches from the angle between the remaining walls, facing north-east, and is 1 foot 6 inches wide.

CS 10. CLOCHÁN O'LEE (*ib.*). Plate XVIII, fig. iii.

This is a complex structure of considerable interest, and an excellent example of subordination of chambers. The central chamber, which in this case was roofed in, is 12 feet 3 inches in diameter. Against the inside wall on the north are two small chambers, still in perfect preservation. These are not bonded to the main wall with which they are in contact, and may have been added at some time subsequent to the original building of the clochán. To make this quite clear, they have not been hatched in the plan. They measure 2 feet 8 inches by 2 feet, and 2 feet 3 inches by 4 feet respectively. The internal height is 2 feet 6 inches. In a height of 3 feet the main wall oversails 9 inches. There is a cupboard recess level with the ground on the westward side, 2 feet deep, 8 inches high, and 1 foot 4 inches across.

There are in addition to the central chamber above described two smaller chambers, with independent entrances. That next the central chamber is the more complete, though it seems to have been partially rebuilt to serve as a shelter for sheep. The doorway, which is distorted, measures 2 feet by 2 feet. The diameter of the structure varies from 3 feet to 5 feet 3 inches. The second small chamber is roofless: its diameter ranges from 3 feet to 3 feet 5 inches. The thickness of the wall is 1 foot 6 inches; the door is 1 foot 9 inches wide.

At the back of these chambers is a yard, such as we have already found at Loc Cábún. In the present case it is contained by five flagstones set on edge. An avenue of similar stones leads southwards from the door of the principal chamber: scattered traces remain carrying the eastern wall of this avenue up the hill for a distance of no less than 75 feet.

Who O'Lee was I could not find. He may have been the owner of an iron spoon and a copper silver-plated button found beneath some of the *débris* during my visit, and perhaps indicating that this structure was inhabited at some time during the last century.

*CS 11. Clochán (*ib.*).

The remains of a clochán, apparently quadrangular on plan. The size was small, but no dimensions of any value can be ascertained.

CS 12. Puicín Mháire ní Shairseil (*ib.*).

The "hut of Mary Sarsfield" is circular, and almost entirely underground; the earth on the eastern side is on a level with the top of the building. The internal diameter is 10 feet 6 inches; the wall oversails 4 feet is a vertical height of 5 feet. There is a cupboard recess in the wall, 5 feet from the south-western jamb of the door, 1 foot 3 inches above the ground, 1 foot 6 inches across, 2 feet 8 inches deep. The doorway is demolished to the foundation: it faced W.N.W., and was 2 feet 4 inches wide internally, 3 feet wide externally: the wall at this point is 3 feet thick.

A native of Coumeenoole, named Michael Casey, some eighty years of age—to whom is due most of my information about the local nomenclature of structures in this particular townland—informed me that Mary Sarsfield was a poor woman of weak intellect who made this ruin her home. She was alive within living memory, and met her death by drowning at the lonely strand called the Inch, near Aunascaul.

CS 13. Puicín na bhFotharach (9·706).

This was a group of seven clocháns, close together in one field. Michael Casey's father, however, removed four of them, and used their materials for building a high enclosing wall round the field, of which he was the tenant. The remaining three being in the line of the wall are wholly or partially incorporated with it.

CS 13 *a*. A mere shell remains of this clochán. The dimensions of the fragment are: 7 feet 9 inches point to point; 1 foot from the centre of the chord to the arc; 3 feet 6 inches vertical height.

CS 13 *b*. This is in the north-east corner of the field. It is 5-sided on plan internally: the maximum diameter is 6 feet, the height 5 feet 2 inches. The entrance is 2 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet 3 inches across, and faces south by west. The length of the sides are respectively: 5 feet (running W.S.W. and E.N.E.): 2 feet 8 inches (north-west and south-east): door: 1 foot 8 inches (east and west): 3 feet (N.N.W. and S.S.E.).

CS 13 *c*. This is a large building incorporated with the north wall of the field at its middle point. The diameter is 11 feet 3 inches long, and in a direction south-east and north-west: on the eastern side of this axis is a curve whose maximum distance from it is 4 feet; on the western side is a slightly convex curve, the chord of which is 9 feet long, and runs north-west and south-east. The entrance is 2 feet 3 inches high, 2 feet broad, and 2 feet deep. The height of the chamber is 8 feet 6 inches, but the upper portion has been rebuilt. There is a cupboard recess 2 feet 3 inches from the door on the western side, 2 feet deep, 1 foot 3 inches across, 1 foot high, and 2 feet 2 inches from the ground.

This structure was inhabited within living memory.

* CS 14. CLOCHÁN (*ib.*).

Nothing is to be seen on the site of this structure but a shapeless depression in the ground with a few stones lying about it.

CS 15. CLOCHÁN (9 1·339).

This is a cuspidate clochán: the entrance faces north-west by west. A singular feature of the building is the sudden oversailing of the course at a height of about 2 feet from the ground. This projection forms a cornice, so to speak, about 1 foot to 1 foot 6 inches deep, from the edge of which the oversail is continued in a comparatively gentle curve.

The greater part of this building has been filled with a modern clochán-like sheepfold.

*CS 16. CLOCHÁN (? AN MHÓRDRAIGHE) (9 ·320).

This is a circular clochan of small size, and for the most part filled with stones. The diameter of the base is about 9 feet, calculated from the diameter at the observable level and the apparent amount of oversail. The doorway has become blocked and grass-grown: the lintel is *in situ*, and is 2 feet 6 inches long.

This is probably the clochán called *Clochán an mhórdraighe* (explained as meaning the clochán of the murder, though no such word as *mórdrach* seems to be known to our lexicographers). I did not hear the name on the spot: on my regaining the road an inhabitant whom I happened to meet pointed in the direction in which this clochán lay, and asked me if I had seen *Clochán an mhórdraighe*. He explained its sinister name by telling me that this structure was actually the scene of a murder, and that after the crime it was filled with stones taken from a neighbouring clochán. This would best tally with the structure under consideration, the very dilapidated CS 17 being on this hypothesis the source of the stones which fill the evil-omened building.

A bothairín runs beside the field containing this and CS 17. On the south side of it is a small modern beehive sheepfold.

*CS 17. CLOCHÁN (*ib.*).

A mere fragment of a double clochán with two quasi-circular chambers arranged north and south—the former being considerably the larger. No dimensions of any value can be ascertained.

CS 18. CEALLÚRACH (9 1·070).

This little cemetery, still used for unbaptized children, contains a few piles of stones, on two of which are prostrate flagstones, each inscribed with a plain cross. One of these measures 2 feet 3½ inches in length, 10 inches in breadth, 3 inches in thickness; the cross it bears is 10 inches in length, 9 inches across. The other is 2 feet 5 inches by 4 inches by 5 inches: its cross is 7 inches by 4 inches. There is no other ornamentation on the stones, and the symbols simply consist of a vertical crossed by a horizontal stroke.

CS 19. CLOCHÁN (9 ·499).

A large circular clochán, now entirely filled with field-stones. The diameter at the visible

plane—2 feet above the surrounding field—is 12 feet 6 inches internally, but there is evidence of unusually bold oversailing in the lower part of the wall, so that this cannot be taken as an indication of the size of the building. The stones of which it is built are of large size.

CS 20. Clochán (9 ·289)

A large circular clochán, filled with field-stones. The diameter is about 13 feet at the visible plane. At one point the walls are visible internally to a vertical height of 2 feet: in that height the oversail amounts to 1 foot.

CS 21. Leachtán na Báiltín Dioghainne (9 ·6349).

"The little mound" of the deep enclosure is similar to the last, and in a similar condition. The internal diameter is 13 feet 6 inches; the wall is 3 feet thick: the oversail 1 foot 2 inches in 2 feet 6 inches.

CS 22. Báiltín na nDamh (9 ·430).

This structure was square on the plan, the diagonals being directed to the cardinal point. The length of the sides was about 12 feet. The entrance is in the middle of the south-east wall, but its dimensions cannot be determined. There is a souterrain entered in the north-west corner of the chamber: this is a mere passage, 6 feet 6 inches in length, 4 feet in height: the axis runs north and south.

*CS 23. Clochán (9 ·725).

A small clochán, perfect, 7 feet in diameter: the entrance faces the west, and is 1 foot 10 inches high, 1 foot 7 inches across.

CS 24. Clochán (9 ·632).

A ruined clochán by the side of a bothairín. Nothing definite can be said about it.

†CS 25. Leachtán an Ghleanna (9 ·423).

[*Otherwise known as* Culóg an Thairbh.]

This is a group of apparently three chambers, in a row; but so much heaped up with field-stones that their mutual relations and their dimensions cannot be ascertained, except in the case of the central structure, which it is possible to enter through the top with a good deal of difficulty: it measures 6 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 8 inches. A bull was formerly kept in this clochán for the common convenience of the village, which accounts for the second name of the structure. The tradition of this prosaic circumstance has, however, blossomed into a tale of a magic bull that haunts the clochán, rendering it dangerous to enter it.

*** The four structures which follow are near the top of Beennacouma, on the Coumeenoole side.

*CS 26. Clochán.

An oval structure, built against the hill-side: the long axis (east to west) is 10 feet, the cross axis 6 feet 6 inches in length. The wall is 4 feet high: the oversail is irregular. At

the east end the rocky side of the hill forms the wall of the structure. The doorway is filled up and obscured by *débris*.

*CS 27. CLOCHÁN.

A destroyed clochán, of which nothing can be said but that it consists of one chamber only.

*CS 28. CLOCHÁN SUGACH.

The "merry clochán" is a large circular chamber, 13 feet in diameter, entered by a doorway, now destroyed, on the south-east side. There is a second chamber to the E.N.E., 11 feet 6 inches north to south, 5 feet east to west. There is a souterrain about 8 feet long and 3 feet wide, now all fallen in and impossible to enter.

*CS 29. CLOCHÁN. Plate XXV, fig. i.

A triple clochán about 60 feet to the north-east of CS 28. The first chamber is in the N.E. of the structure: it measures 10 feet north-east to south-west, 9 feet north-west to south-east: the entrance faced the north-west. A doorway, 2 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet 2 inches across, is directed into the south-western chamber, which is of the rock-shelter type: it is built against a great slab of stone, 7 feet wide and 7 feet high, which forms the south wall of the chamber. On the level of the floor this chamber is 5 feet wide. The third chamber lies to the north-west; it is oblong, being 9 feet 8 inches north-east to south-west, and only 3 feet 3 inches at right angles to that direction. The south-east wall of this chamber is a good example of the method of building with retaining stones: it is shown in the plate.

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*CS 30. CLOCHÁN (5 5·290).

A multiple clochán. The principal chamber is 12 feet 6 inches in diameter, east to west. The entrance faces north, and is 1 foot 3 inches wide. There are three subordinate chambers:—

South-eastern: diameter, 5 feet north to south; 5 feet 2 inches east to west; height, 3 feet 4 inches; doorway, 2 feet 8 inches high, 1 foot 3 inches broad.

Southern: diameter, 4 feet; height, 3 feet 6 inches; doorway, 1 foot 6 inches high, 1 foot 6 inches across.

East of the door: foundation only, 2 feet 8 inches east to west, 3 feet north-east to south-west, in diameter.

*CS 31. ROCK-SHELTER (5 111·693, just north of preceding).

A space roughly circular on plan, about 5 feet in diameter, but only 2 feet in height, entered by a doorway facing west, 1 foot 4 inches high, and 2 feet across. The roof is composed of a gigantic flagstone. The chamber seems to have been formed naturally, and slightly enlarged artificially. It is the rudest shelter in the entire series.

*CS 32. Clochán (*ib.*, a short distance to the north-west).

A small, oval clochán, 3 feet to 4 feet 7 inches in diameter: doorway facing southwards, 2 feet high and 2 feet broad.

*CS 33. Clochán (*ib.*, a short distance west of the preceding).

A small multiple clochán, consisting of a chamber 4 feet 8 inches west to east, 3 feet 6 inches north to south, 2 feet 8 inches high, from which a doorway facing south, 2 feet 2 inches high and 1 foot 9 inches across, gives access to a paved chamber, apparently 6 feet 6 inches in diameter east to west, 7 feet north to south, but much ruined. The wall was 3 feet 6 inches thick. This may have been a court rather than a chamber. There is a small subsidiary chamber on the east side 5 feet in length (north to south almost), 2 feet across and 2 feet high, entered by a doorway 1 foot 6 inches high by 1 foot 6 inches across.

CS 34. Clochán (5 2·781).

A ruined clochán of which I am unable to give any particulars.

CS 35. Clochán (5 ·779).

A circular structure, now almost defaced. It is broken down and grass-grown. The internal diameter is about 8 feet. The doorway faces south, and was about 2 feet 3 inches wide: the western jamb is still standing—a stone 2 feet 4 inches high.

TOWNLAND OF COUMEENOOLE NORTH

†CN 1. Dún Mór (fortified headland).

Dún Mór is very much more simple than the companion fort, Dún Beag, at the opposite end of the settlement. It is a bold headland, containing about 80 acres, rising to a maximum height of 328 feet above the sea, and forming the northern boundary of Coumeenoole Bay. On its summit, in a position which, as Principal Rhŷs most truly observes, "argues no little sentiment on the part of him who chose the site," stands the famous Ogham monument known as the Dunmore or Coumeenoole Stone.

The only artificial fortification consists of a trench and two vallums, running almost N.N.W. and S.S.E. across the isthmus that connects the promontory with the mainland. The total length of this fortification is about 1570 feet. The outer or eastern vallum is now only 2 feet 6 inches high: the trench is 11 feet 6 inches wide: the inner vallum 5 feet high. All, however, have been much injured in recent years, and the trench has been filled up with earth taken from the walls, to facilitate the driving of cattle on to the promontory for grazing.

A native of Coumeenoole, who like the majority of his fellow villagers could speak little or no English, told me that a souterrain (which is unquestionably what he meant by the word *poll*) had once been discovered on the headland; there was a cross cut on one of the stones, and there were bones found within. This is now filled up: in fact I doubt if it would

now be possible to find the exact site of the souterrain, though it seems to have been on the isthmus. We need not reject the story of the cross: crosses are conspicuous in the souterrain at Aghacarrible on the way to Aunascaul.

The stone bearing the Ogham inscription was alluded to in my hearing as *gallán an tsagairt*, or priest's standing stone: but another tale is told about it in Curtin's *Hero Tales of Ireland*.

*CN 2. CLOCHÁN (5 21·756, near S.W. corner).

A ruined clochán, of which nothing can be said except that it was about 8 feet in diameter.

*** The five structures following are grouped in the southern corner of the large field 5 17·453, on the north bank of the mountain stream that runs through Coumeenoole.

*CN 3. CLOCHÁN.

An oval chamber, the long axis (N.N.W. and S.S.E.) 8 feet 6 inches, the cross axis 4 feet in length: the entrance is 2 feet 3 inches wide, and is at the north end of the western side. Opposite the entrance is a souterrain, the opening of which is 2 feet high and 1 foot 3 inches wide: this appears to be partly hollowed in the mountain side, the top being the natural rock, the walls built up to it. This underground chamber is very roughly circular, 5 to 8 feet in diameter, and 3 feet 10 inches high.

*CN 4. SOUTERRAIN.

A souterrain more than 6 feet deep; the opening is now impracticable, though the door is well built. One of my guides said the total depth was 10 feet, which may be taken for what it is worth. The minimum extent above given was determined by inserting a five-foot rod. There does not seem to be any remains of an associated building.

*CN 5. ROCK-SHELTER.

A hole in the ground, covered by stones in their natural position, about 8 feet in width, and hidden with heather and turf. The mouth only is visible on the hillside.

*CN 6. ROCK-SHELTER.

A D-shaped chamber built against a great rock *in situ*, which makes the straight side, on the north. The dimensions are 9 feet 4 inches east to west, by 8 feet 6 inches north to south. The door faces the south-east and is 2 feet 3 inches wide. The structure has been "restored" by the peasantry to make a sheepfold.

*CN 7. CLOCHÁN.

This clochán is 5 feet in maximum diameter, and 2 feet 6 inches high. The entrance faces the west and is 1 foot 3 inches wide. The top is gone.

*CN 8. CLOCHÁNS (by north bank of stream, west of 5 ·857).

Two small chambers which may possibly be meant for the supports of turf ricks (which abound over the whole of this townland) though they look old. They are much ruined. The

best preserved of the two is D-shaped, the door facing the north-west and 1 foot 6 inches wide. The straight side of the D faces north-west and is 4 feet long; the diameter of the structure is also 4 feet.

*** The five structures following are situated in the confluence of the stream already alluded to, and a tributary that joins it just north of 5 1·354.

*CN 9. Clochán̄s.

A group of three structures almost in line N.E. to S.W.

CN 9 *a*, the southernmost, is a clochán with four curved sides on plan, 5 feet by 6 feet 6 inches in diameter, 3 feet high. The entrance faces S.W. In front of the entrance on the south side are remains apparently of another chamber, but too indefinite to yield any information.

CN 9 *b* is close to the preceding. It is a mere shell, being the eastern corner of an angled building. Of the wall running north-east to south-west 3 feet remains, of the south-east to north-west 5 feet.

CN 9 *c* is 14 feet from the preceding. It is oval, 9 feet in length (south-east to north-west), 7 feet in breadth. The doorway faces north-west and is 1 foot 9 inches across. The clochán is built of large stones.

*CN 10. Clochán.

A boat-shaped clochán, the major axis of which runs N.N.W. and S.S.E., and measures 10 feet: the minor axis is 4 feet 9 inches in length: the height of the chamber, which is perfect, is 4 feet. The door is at the north-western end, and is 2 feet 9 inches high and 2 feet across. There are the remains of a small terrace curving downhill in front of the door.

*CN 11. Clochán.

A damaged chamber, 7 feet by 6 feet in diameter: the door faces N.N.W., and is 2 feet 9 inches in height.

*CN 12. Clochán.

A chamber, 7 feet by 5 feet. The door faces N.N.W., and is 1 foot 6 inches across. There is a cupboard recess 1 foot from the ground, 9 inches high, 1 foot across, 1 foot 3 inches deep. A short distance east of this chamber is another of small size, 2 feet 6 inches in diameter.

*CN 13. Clochán.

About 30 feet east of the preceding is a clochán 5 feet in diameter, with a door facing S.S.E., and measuring 1 foot 6 inches in height, and 1 foot 3 inches in breadth. There is a smaller chamber 4 feet in diameter annexed to this: its door has the same aspect as the door of the larger chamber.

*CN 14. Leaba Amhalghadha (near summit of Mount Eagle). Plate XXV, fig. ii.

This curious object consists of a great stone 15 feet long, 2 feet 6 inches thick, 6 feet 6 inches wide, lying with its length east and west, in a sloping position, obviously in its natural

place. Two small stones are leaning against it. At first sight it looks like a dilapidated dolmen, as the illustration will show, and I am inclined to think that it is a natural outcrop of rock adapted as such. The small stones, however, could never have supported the weight of the great slab. There are some smaller stones scattered about. The question as to the personality of Amhalghaidh caused a difference of opinion among my guides. One said he was a noted robber: another that he was the cowboy of Fionn mac Cumhaill, who lived, one said 300, another 5000 years ago! All, however, agreed that it was literally a *bed*, not a grave.

TOWNLAND OF BALLYICKEEN

*B 1. LIOS (5 3·268).

A small lios, almost erased, 23 feet across. The entrance faced S.S.E. There are foundations, marked by mounds, of three chambers; the first, west of the entrance; the second, to the north-west; and the third, at the west point.

*B 2. CLOCHÁN (*ib.*).

A D-shaped structure, 6 feet 3 inches deep, 4 feet 4 inches wide; the long axis running south-east and north-west. The entrance is 1 foot 3 inches wide.

CONCLUSION.

SECTION I.—THE CHARACTER OF THE SETTLEMENT.

We have hitherto spoken of this great collection of buildings as "the settlement," without intending any expression of preference for one or other of the theories that might be advanced as to its character. Having now described each building in detail, it rests with us to consider more fully the archæological questions to which its existence gives rise.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the rival theories that have been advanced with respect to the origin of the settlement, we shall marshal the materials collected in the preceding pages, and endeavour to classify under their various headings the different buildings with which we have met. It will be found that this will call attention to matters of interest other than the principal problem we have set before us: but it will not be out of place to advert to these in the present section, as they will all be found to have their bearing on the main object of our investigation.

Were the question asked where, in the British Islands, the most extensive materials exist for the study of the early evolution of architecture, the answer would probably be Kilmalkedar: for here in the compass of a few acres is an example of nearly every step from the standing pillar stone to the beautiful Romanesque church. For a more detailed study of architectural evolution during what I may term the clochán period, no place offers such abundant materials as the settlement we have been describing. In endeavouring to classify the buildings that have come under our notice I shall follow what seem to be the most natural steps in the development. It should of course be hardly necessary to explain that while I regard this classification as affording a kèy to the approximate chronology of the various types, I by no means consider it a guide in endeavouring to date the examples of those types that have come down to us. The rudest existing structure may have been erected many centuries later than the most finished and elaborate.

1. Caves.—Caves form an important item in the list of the habitations of primitive man: and we naturally look first for examples of this earliest class of human dwellings among the remains of our settlement. There are, as it happens, but three rock-shelters which seem to have been formed by nature, and slightly modified to serve as sleeping places. Each is provided with an aperture through which a small person can creep, and the space within is sufficient for him to lie down in. These are F 46, CS 31, and CN 5.

2. Rock-shelters.—In a district where stones abound, large and small, but where caves are not naturally abundant, the most obvious first attempt at constructing a habitation would be the making of an artificial cave. This can be done in one of two ways: either the rock can be hollowed, or else a wall can be built against a smooth upright rock surface, which thus becomes the side of the cave (as in Plate XXIV, fig. ii). I have not noticed any evidence of interference with the rock itself except in two instances: the rock-shelter CS 4, in which the rock-surface shows traces of quarrying, and the souterrain in CN 3, which appears to have been partly hollowed in the rock.

The rudest of all the rock-shelters is unquestionably CN 14, if indeed

that very remarkable structure be not intended as a sort of dolmen. Here the earth-fast overhanging rock alone supplies the shelter; the insignificant stones leaning against it do not pretend to be any protection, and it is difficult to see how they could enter into any scheme of defence from the weather on the exposed mountain-pass where the monument stands; unless they were intended to support skin or textile coverings. (Plate XXV, fig. ii).

The rock-shelter type falls into two classes, depending on the position of the doorway. In the earliest class, exemplified by F 22 *a*, G 76, and CS 4, the doorway is at or near the end of the slab of rock; thereby preserving the cave-form, on the theory that the slab is the side of an artificial cave. But there is another type where a definite approach to the clochán form is made, in which the doorway is at or near the middle of the built-up side: of this class G 59 *a* and CN 6 are examples.

Although the rock-shelter is the most primitive of the artificial buildings, yet CS 4 is an example which shows that such a structure is capable of being well and solidly erected. This example is unique in possessing a forecourt or some similar protection for the entrance.

3. **D-shaped chambers.**—In the rock-shelters we see a probable origin for the D-shaped chamber which it would otherwise be puzzling to fit into a scheme of evolution. As the rock-shelter is a translation into half slab, half microlithic wall, of a cave, so the D-shaped chamber is a translation of the rock-shelter into work entirely microlithic. A connecting link between the two happens to be supplied by G 61, in which a large flat stone in the foundation practically compels the chamber to adopt a D-shape.

As might be expected, the classes into which the rock-shelter type were divided reappear in the present group. In G 45, for instance, the entrance is at the end of the curved wall: in G 34 it is in the middle of the curved wall. But a third class makes its appearance spontaneously in which the entrance is formed in the straight side. Such are K 6 *c*, where the entrance is at the end, and G 50 where it is in the middle of the straight side.

The other examples of D-shaped chambers in the settlement are F 24, G 41*b*, 54, 67, B 2. It is noteworthy that the majority of the struc-

tures of this type are found at the western end of the settlement, where are also the greater number of rock-shelters.

4. Circular and oval chambers.—It would early be noticed that more room was obtained by making the straight side of the D concave; and thus, through the intermediate form of the leaf-shaped chambers which we meet at G 7*g* and G 8 *a*, we reach the normal type usually associated with the name clochán. There is little to comment upon in this type; but there are one or two technical points that may be noticed here. We found that two adjacent clochán, K 4 and K 5, were almost identical in measurements, and inferred from this that some care was taken in their setting-out, a rod probably being used to obtain a perfect circle. As a matter of fact these two structures are among the best and most carefully built in the settlement. There are others, however, in which we do not find such care taken; there are (as in G 4 *c*) violent changes of curvature, and often the part intercepted between two such points of change is nearly straight. It is in these badly set-out circles or ovals that the probable origin of the quadrangular plan is to be found.

It may be noticed that there seems in some of these cases to be a reminiscence of the "cave" origin, in the sinking of the floor of the chamber below the level of the surrounding ground. So much is this the case, that occasionally (as in the group of CS 1) the plan of a destroyed structure can be recovered from the shape of the depression. Notable instances of this practice of partial burial of the clochán are to be found at K 8 and CS 12.

5. Quadrangular clochans.—On the theory followed in this classification, the final stage in the development of single chambers is reached when they are made quadrangular on plan. It is strange that very few quadrangular buildings remain in other than an almost hopelessly ruined condition.

6. Cuspidate chambers.—This form is probably anomalous, being due to faulty setting-out; or else the cusps marked the point of departure of a partition dividing the area of the clochán into two. The cuspidate chambers are three in number: F 32*j*, 35 first chamber, and CS 15.

Multiplication of apartments.—Except in a few cases of special interest the buildings above classified are single-chambered clochán only.

But the inconvenience of having one room alone for all purposes must early have been felt; we find it remedied in one of three ways:—

(1). A small chamber is constructed in the thickness of the wall.
(2). A second building is erected adjoining or near the first.
(3). The floor-area of a chamber is subdivided.

In order further to specialise the accommodation, resort is had to a repetition of one of the above methods or to a combination of them.

1. **Chambers in the thickness of the wall: Souterrains.**—It is probable that both of these are developments of the cupboard recesses which are conspicuous in a large number of the clochán in the settlement. These, as a general rule, are of the simplest description—a number of stones are left out of the wall, forming an approximately cubical recess which is lintelled over by a stone of sufficient length. At Cb 2 trouble has been taken to make the recess neatly, by lining it with upright stones. An anomalous example, triangular in shape, occurs at F 53. The number is generally one, not infrequently two, and once (F 48*a*) four. The great cupboard in the inner chamber of G 72 may be taken as supplying a connecting link between these simple apertures and so elaborately built a recess as that in G 28 or G 45: the same may be said of the little recess at the west end of the third chamber in G 35.

Souterrains are shown to be similarly derived from their being entered through an opening made at or near the wall of the chamber with which they are connected. Nineteen souterrains are recorded in the previous pages, and the series is interesting, for they well exemplify the various classes into which this remarkable group of constructions may be divided. An excellent connecting-link between the wall-recess and the souterrain proper is supplied by Cb 2, the opening in which partakes of the character of both. The souterrains, so called, in the great forts, G 4 and G 7, are nothing more than magnified wall-recesses, and to call them "souterrains," though convenient, is etymologically inexact.

Souterrains seem to have been meant for one of two purposes; hiding or storage places, and secret sallyports. To the former belong the majority of those known in this settlement. In fact, only two seem to have been

meant as thoroughfares, and in each case there is an element of doubt. The souterrain in F 9 (Dún Beag) was not improbably intended to allow an exit to the defenders should the fort be taken by the enemy; but if so, the original beginning and ending of the passage are both lost, so that no corroborative evidence of this is forthcoming on the site itself. At G 10 occurs a souterrain which seems to act as a connecting passage between a lios and a clochán, now destroyed, that stood outside its circumference: this is a very unusual case. The other souterrains in the series are all closed at the inner end, and, in spite of tradition to the contrary in some individual cases (as at G 16), I see no reason to believe that any of them were ever longer.

The majority of the souterrains open just under the wall; but in some cases different steps are resorted to, which mark later stages in the evolution. At G 24 and 27, for instance, the opening, though near the wall, is well within the boundary of the floor-area. At CS 28, the structure opens outside the wall of the main chamber, and at G 16 and CN 4 it is entirely independent of any dwelling with which it is or may have been associated.

The simplest plan of souterrain consists merely of a passage with more or less parallel sides, closed with a blank wall at the inner end: such are those in F 8 (probably); CS 2, 22, and 28; and CN 4. The first modification consists in making the sides concave, so that the passage becomes a single chamber; examples of this class are presented by the southern souterrain of G 41 and that of CN 3. The next step would be the providing an entrance passage to the chamber thus formed, as in the northern souterrain of G 41 and also G 24; and, lastly, this entrance passage in its turn becomes a chamber, so that the souterrain consists of two chambers, connected by a doorway. For purposes of defence and concealment this connecting doorway is made as inconspicuous and narrow as is practicable. Examples of this ultimate form are to be found at F 32, in which the axis of the inner chamber is at right angles to that of the outer; G 16, 27, in which the axes meet at a more obtuse angle.

On the remaining souterrains in the series, F 27 and CN 1, which are now blocked, I have no information. There are probably others (at K 2, for instance) not yet discovered.

There is clearly no limit to the possible multiplication of chambers and connecting passages, and we find that in other parts of Ireland such as Killala, and at Ventry in the neighbourhood of the settlement under discussion, the number of apartments is increased indefinitely; but there is no instance in the group which forms the subject of the present paper of a souterrain containing more than two chambers.

2. Grouping of clochán.—The additional accommodation provided by cupboards, wall-recesses, and souterrains, would still be too small to meet all requirements; and we find accordingly the obvious expedient followed of constructing a second clochán beside the first. In this stage of the development the most elementary type would show no connexion between the two houses, save that they were placed side by side, as in F 11, 21, 41, or in contact as in K 3, 7*a*; their association being emphasised in some cases by the construction of an earthen wall around them, as was, no doubt, the case at K 9 when that fortress was perfect, or by a stone wall, as in F 39. Three clochán are found grouped in the same manner as in G 1; and an extension of this system produces the great groups F 32 and F 48, where all the structures are independent of one another. In one of these cases they are surrounded by a wall; in the other their connexion is not indicated in this manner.

The hostility of the weather or of enemies would early suggest the advisability of making an entrance through the wall between the two chambers, in order to avoid passing into the open air when it was necessary to proceed from one to the other. In the beginning of this period in the evolution the second chamber would continue to have its independent external entrance, as in G 28; but this would soon be found to be unnecessary if not dangerous, and would be abandoned; we would thus reach the normal double clochán as in K 6 *b*, entered from outside into one chamber only.

It is worth noticing that in some multiple clochán, as in G 35 and CS 29, one of the chambers is a "rock-shelter"—an evidence that the evolution we have been tracing is not chronological so far as the existing buildings are concerned.

3. Subdivision of floor-area.—This is rare. It takes its rise from the partition between two adjacent circular clochán becoming straightened,

so that the whole building may be rendered compact. A D-shaped chamber is subdivided (thus ⊖) in F 1. Du Noyer found an example at F 29.

In an appendix to this paper a more complete tabular summary of the remains in the settlement is given; enough has now been said to indicate the lines on which the buildings of which it exists may be regarded as having developed. There are, however, a few miscellaneous points of detail which can most conveniently be taken up here before we proceed to the investigation upon which we set out.

1. **Methods of roofing.**—The normal construction of the vault of a clochán chamber consists in the oversailing of each course beyond the outer face of the course that lies below, the process being continued until either a width is left sufficiently narrow to be spanned by lintels, or else the stones meet in a point by continual approximation. Judging from the few specimens of perfect structures that have come down to us in the settlement, the former seems to be the favourite method of finishing a large structure (as in one of the chambers of G 7*b*); the latter of completing a small chamber (as in CS 3 *b* and *c*). The oversail is generally gradual, and becomes more rapid towards the top: in one (CS 15) it is at one point sudden.

2. **"Retaining stones."**—As a general rule the stones are laid horizontally from the first; but in one well-marked group the area is marked out by a ring of vertical stones set upright in the earth. To these I have ventured to give the name "retaining stones." With but one exception (F 48 *a*) they are found on the inner face of the wall. It happens in several places that, owing to one cause or another, the small stones of a clochán have become removed: in these cases the retaining stones remain *in situ*, and bear a striking resemblance to a stone circle. An example is shown in Plate XXV, fig. i.

3. **Limits of multiplication of chambers.**—The multiplication of chambers above noted reaches its maximum at C 2, where there are in all twenty courts, chambers, and subordinate chambers in the group. In K 6, which comes second, there are fifteen. It is a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that in each of the four great cathairs, F 18, 32, G 4, 7, there are apparently eleven chambers.

4. "Dog-houses."—Certain chambers which seemed too small for any human use have been sometimes regarded as dog-houses. There does not, however, seem to be sufficient evidence to warrant so specific a theory; they might just as well have been store chambers. The dog-house theory was ridiculed by the inhabitants to whom I suggested it on the ground that it would be found injurious to the animals to confine them in such places.

5. Multiplication of entrances.—To others I must leave the task of explaining why, in a settlement where defence seems to have been so important a consideration, so many chambers were provided with two external doors. The extra door serves no purpose of convenience that I can divine, as it is generally close by the first; and it must have increased the difficulty of keeping out undesirable intruders. A curious fact is that it is often much smaller than the principal door: this is notably the case at F 47. We read of the *Bruden Dá Derga* having doors all round kept hospitably open except on the side from which the wind blew; but wind blowing into one of the pair of doors in the Fahan settlement would in nearly every case blow into the other. The only building with doors all round is C 3 *a*, which apparently had an entrance in each quadrant; but this is quite too small to have been a house of common refreshment! The point is interesting and perplexing.

Theories respecting the settlement: 1. The "City" theory.—At the end of the paper on this settlement, to which I have had occasion so often to refer, Du Noyer entered into some abstract consideration respecting the possible origin of the buildings. As before, I quote his own words:—

"That the Fahan buildings are of remote antiquity is beyond a doubt: indeed, the learned Dr. Petrie, in his 'Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland,' p. 128, attributes the erection of the circular cloghaun to the Firbolg and Tuatha-de-Danan tribes, who inhabited this country long prior to the introduction of Christianity. The secluded locality where these buildings exist, their solid and massive character, the rocky nature of the district which has been sparingly brought under tillage by the clearing away of surface stones, for which these cloghauns and cahers formed ready receptacles, adding to their bulk but preserving their ground-plan, have tended to secure to us these examples of early architecture."

After commenting on the fact that buildings of this class are still erected for farmyard purposes in the Dingle district, he adds—

"In conclusion, I would remark, that the architectural remains of any ancient people enable us to form a clearer notion of their social condition than could any other evidence short of a written description. Thus it is with the ancient buildings I have described: the people who erected them were simple in their habits, yet lived in a state of constant watchfulness and mistrust, if not of absolute warfare, with their immediate neighbours; they acknowledged, doubtless, a chief, and practised warlike habits; they were not nomadic, but, on the contrary, given to remaining permanently settled in a locality which they carefully selected as best adapted to their state of society, their wants, and their security."

He says further that they were, probably, an agricultural, pastoral, and a hunting people; and that the absence of metal-dressing in the stones of their houses suggests that they were not "acquainted with the use of metal implements for that purpose."

Finally, he says:—

"The smallness of the sleeping-chambers and of the entrances leading into them is very remarkable; indeed, this addition to the cloghaun is a singular feature in the habits of the people who used them. Taking both into account, we may suppose that the attainment of warmth by animal heat was the chief object they had in view in their construction: if so, it at once lowers them to the scale of the Esquimaux, whose circular Inglöe, or stone huts closely resemble the smaller and more insignificant of our cloghauns: indeed the resemblance may go even yet further, for it is likely that in many instances there were long covered stone passages conducting to the door of the cloghaun, similar in design to the long, low, and straight stone passages, covered with sods, which lead into the winter Inglöe. When we consider what an important addition to our comfort is a chamber set apart for sleeping in, no matter how small it may be, we are surprised to find that so few of the cloghauns have this important addition to them; it is sufficient, however, to know that such was sometimes required, and we may regard this fact as evincing some degree of refinement in a people whose habits must have been most rude and simple."

2. The "Monastery" theory.—In the course of his lecture on "Buildings, Furniture, &c., in Ancient Erinn," in the third volume of his *Manners and Customs*, O'Curry sharply attacks the views above quoted. He does not attempt to disprove them *seriatim*, because, as he says, it would "be a waste of time, and not very complimentary to the reader's intelligence" to do so. Further on (*op. cit.* p. 71) he says: "It is not at all improbable that all these bee-hive houses described by Mr. Du Noyer were in fact but the cells of Christian hermits like all the other buildings of the same class known along the western coast of Ireland." It is only just to notice that he adds: "It is quite clear, however, that the Glenfahan 'city,' so called, has not yet received a thorough antiquarian examination; and until it shall have been properly investigated, I do not wish to be understood as expressing any positive opinion upon this conjecture."

The rival theories examined.—Of the other writers who have concerned themselves with the settlement or individual buildings contained within it, Lord Dunraven has tacitly adopted the views of Du Noyer, by including Dún Beag in his series among the great western fortresses of Aran and Kerry which it is usual to call pagan. Mr. T. J. Westropp gives no clue to his own views on the subject in his abstract of Du Noyer's paper prepared for the Society of Antiquaries, but he has privately informed me that, while he does not accept Du Noyer's views, he does not consider the remains as of monastic origin. Sir Thomas Deane does not venture on a theory; he contents himself with remarking that "there is considerable evidence that a great Milesian expedition from Spain, some time before our era, landed in this part of Ireland," while "on the other hand there is evidence that in St. Brandon's time, the sixth century, the district of Dingle was inhabited by a large colony of monks, three thousand in number; so the remains studding this district may claim the more ancient date of the Milesian invasion, or the more modern of St. Brandon's time." He adds: "There is nothing to identify the buildings with any particular race, or to indicate with a degree of certainty their age."

We therefore have two opposing theories with regard to the settlement of Fahan and the neighbouring townlands:—(1). That it was a primitive pagan city. (2.) That it was a *laura* of Christian monks.

Both views will be found to contain an element of truth and an element of error.

We must bear in mind O'Curry's disclaimer of responsibility, in connexion with the theory suggested by him, in endeavouring to estimate the amount of weight that must be accorded to it. It is quite clear that he himself felt dissatisfied with the theory, and considered the evidence available to him insufficient to enable a confident conclusion to be arrived at. Another fact may be adduced as considerably weakening the theory, though it were absolutely supported by the weight of O'Curry's authority. It is evident to anyone acquainted with O'Curry's work that it was Du Noyer's reference to the Eskimo which inspired the author of *Manners and Customs* with his hostility to Du Noyer's views. It would have been inconsistent with his golden dreams of a pre-Patrician civilization in Ireland, comparable with the culture of the Mediterranean races, to have admitted that the ancient Irish were, at any stage of their development, on the social level of the Eskimo.

When we compare the settlement with unquestionably monastic institutions of the *laura* class, found in other parts of Ireland, it becomes abundantly clear that O'Curry's theory, even on its own merits, is quite untenable. In three crucial and essential points the two types of clochán groups differ. In the first place, a genuine *laura* is always surrounded by a wall, and is always concentrated. There is not a trace of a surrounding wall in this settlement, and its buildings are scattered widely over several square miles. Secondly, the central feature of the *laura* is always the chapel; here there is no definitely ecclesiastical building, save the tiny Teampull Beag, and to suppose that this did duty as the centre of worship of some three thousand monks would be simply preposterous. Thirdly, the architecture of the clocháns of the settlement differs in one important respect from that of monastic bee-hive houses. I think I am right in saying that in no undoubted *laura* in Ireland is there such a thing as a double clochán. In search of this feature I have personally visited or examined plans and descriptions of the principal remains of this type, such as, among others, Ardoileán, Inismurray, the Aran examples, Oileán tSenaig, and Sgeilig Mhichil, and at each place I have searched vainly.

A query on this subject, which I inserted some little time ago in the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, was equally unproductive. The same is true of monastic clochán in Scotland, as appears from the examples illustrated in Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times;* and we are therefore led to gather that since the single clochán was sufficient for celibate hermits, while the double or multiple clochán was a necessity for family life in even the elementary stages of civilization, the presence of multiple clochán in a group may be taken as indicating the secular nature of the group, especially when other considerations point in the same direction.

While thus expressing agreement with the central postulate of Du Noyer's theory, I hope to show later that there are strong grounds for dissenting from his views in some of their details. That the settlement is secular in its nature is, to my mind, self-evident, and I do not suppose that even O'Curry would have held a different view if he could have seen the map accompanying this paper, which for the first time gives a fair idea of the extent and number of the buildings. But were we to speak of it as a "city," we would, I think, be straining language too far. A city, according to Webster, is, "in a *general* sense, a large town, and in a *more appropriate* sense, a corporate town." In other words, the word "city" implies organisation; but after a careful survey of the whole site, and a careful consideration of the relation of each building to its neighbours, I fail to see the vaguest evidence of the existence of any corporate organization at all. I cannot see any proof of Du Noyer's statement that the inhabitants "acknowledged, doubtless, a chief," save the argument drawn from analogy with similar primitive settlements. Further, a city implies not only a corporate organization of the citizens, but also a systematic laying-out of the houses of which it is structurally composed: a city without streets is inconceivable. But the principles on which this settlement is set out are of the most elementary description. The various existing field-roads in the neighbourhood are all indicated on the accompanying map. The modern coast-road to Ballyferriter had no existence further west than Fahan village up to some twenty years ago. Taking this out, we see that there are two main road-systems. One, the

bridle path through Fahan, now known as the "Road of Fahan," seems to be as ancient as the settlement, and may have been constructed for the convenience of the residents in the three great forts on the eastern side of the Glenfahan River, and to supply an easy thoroughfare to the river and the mill. A group of ancient pathways leads up the hill, radiating from the site of the present village of Fahan. It seems probable that these have the various hill-side wells for their goals; all pass near one or other of them. That the roads in the Fahan portion of the settlement are as old as the buildings is shown by the fact that the latter are for the most part grouped about them. The case is different with the branching system of paths that radiates from Coumeenoole. Here the connexion between the roads and clochán sites is by no means so obvious. It is plain, however, that considerations of water supply, rather than of thoroughfare, have influenced the choice of site all over the settlement. By the side of a mountain-spring, such as those near Fahan, or others near G 41 and G 64, are sure to be found groups of buildings; and it is not necessary to do more than point to the two rivers that occur in the district occupied by the settlement to illustrate how far the presence of water has influenced the choice of site. But apart from this, there seems to be little or no reason why a structure should be in any one particular spot rather than another: they straggle up the mountain passes on either side of Beennacouma and the west and south of Mount Eagle, in a perfectly random manner.

The Dúns.—It might be suggested, as an evidence of the existence of cohesion, that in the two great forts at either end of the settlement—Dún Mór and Dún Beag—we have a proof of combination for the protection of the community. This raises an interesting and difficult question: the determination of the exact relation in which Dún Mór and Dún Beag stand to the other buildings with which we have been concerned.

Du Noyer speaks of Dún Beag as protecting the "city of Fahan on the east"—to which there follows the natural corollary that he regarded Dún Mór as its westward protection, though he does not say so in as many words. O'Curry's objections to this suggestion are perfectly sound, as an inspection of the map will make abundantly clear. He says: "If the idea of both [these forts] was the protection of the presumed 'city,' there was

a very lamentable defect in the design, for whilst one or both ends of the 'city' may have had the benefit of protection from one or both of these forts, the whole sea and land lines in front and rear of the 'city' were left without any protection whatever. It cannot, of course, be supposed that a stronghold erected on a point of land projecting considerably into the sea beyond the front line, and at one end of the presumed 'city' could have formed any possible protection to it, while its front and rear were quite exposed by water and land, and the same objection holds good as regards the Great Fort at the other end. . . . If the fort of Dún Beag had been multiplied into a line of forts or 'cahers,' or continued into such a wall as formed itself, but carried on northwards from it to the harbour of Smerwick, that is, across the entire neck of the headland, then indeed would there have been a protection for the inhabitants of Fahan, as well as for others within this line."

These observations of O'Curry express exactly the conclusions at which I myself arrived after my survey. To extend Du Noyer's idea is very tempting—to suppose that the settlement was defended by the rugged hillside on the north, by the precipitous sea-cliff on the south, by the little fort on the east and by the great fort on the west; but it is wholly inadmissible. The natural defences of the district, especially the marshes surrounding the great moraine at Kilvickadownig, probably influenced its choice as a site for settlement; but we cannot point to the forts under notice as intended for the defence of the community at large. An invader entering the settlement would scarcely pass within bowshot of them.

Conclusions.—The further discussion of the purpose of the dúns belongs to a later stage of this paper; for the present we must follow other lines in the investigation. It will be convenient to pause here, at the close of the first section of the inquiry, and briefly to state the main conclusions to which we have thus far been led.

1. The settlement consists of buildings in which a gradual development of elaboration can be traced (probably implying a long lapse of time for its growth, though not indicating any reliable basis for dating individual structures).

2. The settlement was not monastic.

3. The settlement was not an organised community.

These conclusions are quite irrespective of any theory that may be held as to the racial affinities of the inhabitants or the time at which they lived. The following sections will be devoted to an examination of the scanty evidence remaining upon these points.

Section II.—The Peopling of the Settlement.

A. The modern inhabitants of the district.—Any investigation of the peopling of a place in ancient times must start with an examination of the racial characteristics of their modern representatives. In the present case, however, there is little to learn from a study of the people now inhabiting the site. The ethnologist who to-day would attempt to investigate their affinities is rather too late. Within the last half-century or so several families have come in from outside, and settled on the spot; thus the name transformed into "the wolves' fort" cannot have been many years old when it came to Du Noyer's notice; and the fair-haired, blue-eyed Martins are now found side by side with the very dark Foleys, causing inextricable confusion to the scientific investigator. The inhabitants of Kilvickadownig are less mixed, showing a larger proportion of fair hair and clear blue eyes. At the western end of the settlement, indeed, the people of Coumeenoole offer much more promising material. They were, until the new road was made, shut off from communication with the outer world, and their essential differences from their neighbours are so obvious that they are a fruitful matter of speculation to the rest of the inhabitants of western Corkaguiney. The usual stories of Spanish admixture—a stock resort of amateur rustic ethnology—are told of them. However, as my business was with the ancient buildings (which provided me with ample employment), rather than with the modern inhabitants, I was compelled to content myself with very superficial observations upon them: but I regret this the less, as I understand (if I be not misinformed) that Dr. Browne has made a proper ethnological survey of this village, from which valuable results cannot fail to flow.

B. The evidence of Tradition.—In the absence of any human remains of the ancient inhabitants — for none such have ever been brought to light, so far as I am aware—the question of continuity of population must be considered from the standpoint of tradition. If there were any ancient names, or lively traditions of the ancient inhabitants, they might be taken as evidence that among the modern inhabitants are to be found the descendants of the clochán dwellers. This, however, is not the case.

1. Nomenclature.—Thus, among the names of the structures, &c., which I was able to recover, there is scarcely one that necessarily possesses an antiquity older than the present century. These names are seventy-five in number: and they are capable of being classed in certain broad divisions, of which some are obviously modern, and others tell nothing of their origin or date, being merely descriptions that might have been applied at any time. In the following list, for the sake of simplicity, I use the English translation of names alone, adding the reference number of the structure.

I. Derivatives from place-names or the names of natural objects:—

K 6. The fort of the Maoilin.
K 7. The clochán of the height.
F 17. The clochán of the sequestered garden.
F 25. The clochán of the little field.
F 27. The clochán of the cross-road (?).
G 24. The fort of Glenfahan.
G 34–6. The clochans of the saddle.
CS 2. The clochán of the [field or family called] Bardan.
CS 3. The place of [Slea] head.
CS 6. The clochán of the field of [Slea] head.
CS 25. The little mound of the glen.
The Road of the Maoilin (at Fahan).
The Road of Fahan.
The standing-stone of the ivy.

II. Derivatives from the names of artificial objects:—

K 10. The field of the Cross.
F 24. The place of the "standing stone of the ivy."
The Road of the Forge (Fahan).*

III. Descriptions:—

F 9. The little fort.
F 14. The little church.
F 23. The big fold.
F 32. The new fort.
G 2. The sheep-fold.
G 13. The black clochán.
G 18. The broken mill.
G 27. The fort of the two doors.
G 28. The great clochán.
G 43. The asses' fold.
G 44. The stronghold clochán.
G 45. The new clochán.

* There is no forge now existing on this road.

G 53. The white clochán.
G 55. The grey clochán.
G 73. The place of the big ship (perhaps alluding to the length and narrowness of the structure).
CS 13. The fold of the ruins.
CS 21. The little mound of the deep enclosure.
CS 22. The fold of the heifers.
CN 1. The great fort.

IV. Fancy names, *e.g.* names from animals, &c., without apparent meaning:—
K 3. The cats' clochán (I).
K 4. The Púca's clochán.
F 15. The enclosure of the elder.
F 22. The place of the old hat (?).
G 12. The hares' clochán.
G 32. The cats' clochán (II).
G 40. The women's clochán.
G 41. The women's fort.
G 59. The virgins' clochans.
G 62. The clochán of the blackthorn.
G 64. The clochán of the ivy.
G 72. The clochán of the big family.
CS 28. The merry clochán.
The standing-stone of the moon.
The standing-stone of the thrush.
The coal stone.
The rock of the horse.

V. Personal names: especially names from present or past holders of the sites of the structure:—
F 20. The clochán of Curtin's field.
F 22. Little Mary's place.
F 47. Thomas's clochán.
G 4. Connor's fort.
G 7. The fort of the Martins.
G 8. The little fort of the Martins.
G 24. Murphy's fort.
G 27. Sayers' fort.
G 58. The clochán of the small farmer.
CS 1. Tadhg's tent.
CS 10. O'Lee's clochán.
CS 12. Mary Sarsfield's clochán.
CN 14. The bed of Aulay.
The standing-stone of Granuaile.

VI. Names derived from circumstances connected with the structures* :—
(?) F 21. The priest's field, stone, well, &c.
G 33. The ruins of the robbers.
CS 16. The clochán of the murder.
CS 25. The hole (?) of the bull.
The tobacco den.

VII. Names of unknown meaning:—
F 39. Loc Cábún.
F 41. Clochán Ceapach.
G 58. Clochán Sileóid.

A similar list is found in Sir Thomas Deane's "Report," above quoted. He gives English forms only, some of which are not quite correct.

"One most remarkable fact," says Sir Thomas, "is that the inhabitants have a definite name for each dwelling or fort, no matter how much ruined or unobservable to the visitor. Among such designations I find [here follows the list to be presently referred to]. These names may . . . raise

* Some names in the previous classes might also be given under this head.

the doubt as to the antiquity of these remains; but it must be borne in mind that the majority of them have been overgrown with weeds and covered with stones, and hardly recognizable to the eye until investigated carefully and excavated, so that it is more than unlikely that modern names should be attached to spots which gave such little evidence of their existence, unless ancient tradition handed down the names and uses to those who now occupy the country."

My own observations, however, led to different results. There are many clocháns, some of them fairly conspicuous, for which the most careful inquiry failed to find a name: and I am bound to say that such of the structures mentioned in Sir Thomas Deane's list as I have been able to identify are among the most obvious and striking in the entire settlement.

The list is as follows:—

"The city of the coarse field"—that is *Cathair Páirce gairbhe*, an alternative name for G 27, which I did not hear on the spot, but learned at Dingle from Mr. D'Arcy. In Sir Thomas Deane's paper "coarse" is unfortunately misprinted "course": the misprint is repeated at p. 306 of the *Journal of the R. S. A. I.* for 1897.

"The big structure": doubtless G 28.

"The cell of the old inhabitant": this is meant, I think, for G 58; *sgológ*, though properly meaning "a small farmer," generally conveys the additional idea of advanced age.

"The cell of the big family": G 72. This name was invented in recent years for the benefit of visitors—I have the highest local authority for saying that it is not more than ten or fifteen years old.

"The little fort": F 9.

"The city of the glen of the slope"; this is G 24, which is known by the alternative name of "Caher Glenfahan." "Glen of the slope" is a translation of the place-name.

"Martin's big city." This is G 7; but the apostrophe in the owners' name should follow the *s*.

"Martin's little city." This is G 8: the same remark applies. "City," moreover, is a very questionable translation of "Cathair."

"The city on the big point." This I have failed to identify: there is

no "city" on any big point in the neighbourhood. On the analogy of the name Puicín mór (F 23), I can only suppose that Sir Thomas Deane or his informant heard some structure alluded to as "Cathairín mhór," and took the -rín to be *rinn*, "a point."

"The new city": F 32.

"The city of the western coast." This is not like any name I have found, and the western coast is remarkably destitute of "cities." Possibly *Cathair an dhá dhorus* might have been taken for *Cathair an óir iorruis*, and the latter might have been taken to mean "the city of the western coast"; but this is merely a guess.

"The fortifications of the rock": probably G 44.

"The lair of the little hare" is, I suppose, G 12, though I heard nothing about the size of the animal.

"The black structure": G 13.

"The white structure": G 53, or perhaps G 40.

"The structure of the high place": K 7.

"The structure overlooking the other forts": this also I am unable to identify; but it is obviously a mere description of some such structure as G 41.

The main fact to be deduced from these local names is that few of them can certainly be pointed to as of any traditional value. The first class, even if ancient, is of no archæological importance, neither is the second or third, with one exception in the last; "the *new* fort" may possibly indicate that F 32 is of later date than some of its associates. But the well-known habit of the Irish peasant, of naming things by an attribute contrary to that which expresses their characteristics, may be the real motive for the name *Cathair nuadh*, which designates one of the oldest-looking and most injured forts in the settlement. There may be some historical circumstances at the bottom of such names as "the women's fort," or "the merry house," in the fourth class; but if there be, they have been forgotten beyond recall. I could obtain no reason for the second of these names, and none for the first except the jocular explanation that the fort in question was set apart for the women, because it was high up the hill, and thus well out of the way! The

fifth class of names are, with one exception, distinctly modern in character: the one exception is of course Leaba Amhalghadha, which may enshrine a genuine tradition. The sixth class all refer to comparatively recent circumstances; and of the seventh it is impossible to say anything. If these names mean anything they are so corrupted as to be unintelligible.

It must, however, be borne in mind that there is no necessity to suppose that these structures were originally ticketed with names, like modern rows of jerry-built villas. There is no evidence that what we have found to be the present custom—the naming the structures after the occupiers for the time being of the land on which they happen to stand—is not really a survival of ancient habit. With every change of ownership the name would of course be changed, and thus old names would be forgotten. We saw in the first part of this paper that, even since Windele's time, Cathair an Mairtínighe has become Cathair Connor, and "Caherdonnell" has become Cathair na Mairtíneach.

2. Traditions.—Nomenclature being an unsafe guide in our present investigation, we must next turn to the question whether traditions exist among the present inhabitants, from which we can gain some insight into the ideas locally entertained respecting the builders of the clocháns.

Here again we are disappointed with the meagreness of the available materials. Though I cannot speak too highly of the intelligence of the people of Fahan and Glenfahan, and of the ease with which their interest in the ancient structures about them was aroused, yet my efforts to find among them legends relating to the remains were all in vain. The commonplaces that the buildings were the work of the Danes, and the supposition that Teampull Beag was the oldest church in Ireland—a piece of local pride found almost universally through the country—were the main results of my inquiries. These statements simply mean that nothing is known of the origin of the buildings to which they refer. One of my guides, indeed, ascribed them to the work of people whom he called the "*Dúbha Día Dá Danann*": he meant the Tuatha Dé, which however does not affect the above conclusion. The most careful observation failed to detect the smallest sign of reverence for the ancient buildings, such as is found nearly everywhere in Ireland. I noticed but one possible trace of a tendency to

ascribe uncanny influences to the structures. On my visit to Dún Beag in January, owing to the shortness of the days the darkness came on before I had nearly completed the measurements I required. I stayed on the spot as long as there was any light at all, but I noticed that, as soon as the first evening shadows made their appearance, the boys who had patiently watched me the whole day went off in a body and did not return. This may be put down to an unwillingness to be on the spot after dark; but I am perfectly ready to accept the explanation that the time of their departure was tea-time. I heard that objections were raised by the people of Kilvickadownig to a proposal of the landlord to build a house inside the precincts of the great lios on that townland. This illustrates the general rule that earthen forts are regarded with more veneration than stone-built structures; and if the first explanation of the departure of the boys from Dún Beag be accepted, I should regard the place as venerated by virtue of its earthen mounds rather than of its stone walls. The fairies of Corkaguiney seem to have made the old churchyards and ruined churches their home; the dreaded Púca haunts the earthen ring-forts,* rendering (for example) the high-road from Ventry to Dingle unsafe to the nocturnal traveller, as two of these special resorts of his are to be found on its southern side. But, though the Púca himself gives his name to one of the Kilvickadownig clocháns, neither ghost nor goblin seems to favour these ancient stone-built houses,† attractive though they might seem to be to a supernatural inhabitant.

3. Amhalghaidh.—The vague legends about Amhalghaidh, cow-boy or robber, are the only traces of a tradition that I could find reaching back beyond recent times. Mary Sarsfield, Tadhg the thief, and the rest of the actors in the drama of south-west Corkaguiney, were evidently people of a comparatively late epoch—some of them, indeed, lie within recollection still living. Amhalghaidh, however, stands on a different footing. He was definitely connected by my informants with Fionn mac Cumhaill (who was, of course, located at Rahinnane Castle, near Ventry, which the

* The people of Coumeenoole, however, had no qualms about half destroying the earthen fortifications of Dún Mór.

† The bull story (CS 26) is of no importance, as the supernatural embroidery with which one of my guides decked it was stripped off by another: see the article.

people of the place seem universally to regard as the famous hero's dwelling). But I could learn nothing more of the owner of the bed than his name, his association with Fionn, and the two opposing statements of his calling. I have never come across an Amhalghaidh in any of the Fenian tales I have read, and am unable from any source to supplement the scanty information available about this personage.

4. The Bothairín Aonaigh.—There is one other place-name which I learnt that may enshrine an ancient tradition. This is the name applied to a track that runs from Kilvickadownig to Caheratrant, on the western arm of the land round Ventry Harbour. There is unfortunately a little ambiguity as to its form. By one of my guides it was called *Bothairín Aonaigh*, which means "the little road of the assembly." By others I heard it called *Bothairín Rígh an Aonaigh*, which would mean "the little road of the king of the assembly," or possibly (with different orthography, though nearly similar sound) "of the point of the assembly." There is no tradition of assemblies having been held in the neighbourhood of the road; but the name is suggestive, in view of the possibly sacred character of Kilvickadownig in ancient times, to which attention will presently be paid.

5. Tradition and Recent Events.—In another direction, however, tradition comes to our aid. The inhabitants have no doubt as to the depopulations and changes of population effected in the country by the troubles of the seventeenth century, by the operation of the penal laws, by the famine, and by the constant stream of emigration. It would indeed be marvellous if, with all these adverse influences at work, any recognizable fragments of the old stock had survived. The shadowy Amhalghaidh is almost the only bridge in the complete break of tradition before the period of the melancholy events of the last three centuries; and his personality is hardly strong enough to warrant our building theories of a continuity of population upon the evidence afforded by his legendary existence.

C. Architectural continuity.—At the commencement of Section 1 we traced a continuous development in the early structures, beginning with the natural cave, and ending with the circular or quadrangular clochán. Theoretically it should be possible to find a connecting link between the latter building and the cabin of the modern Coumeenoole peasant;

but this link is missing, and although the village at Coumeenoole is singularly primitive, the gap to be bridged is wider than any to be found in the previous chain of evolution. A clochán is practically a wall-less building (though, for convenience, we have often spoken of the "wall" of such a structure). It is built of stones that oversail from the first to approach one another; it is thus, properly speaking, all roof. The early Christian oratories, such as Gallerus, are similar in character, differing only in plan. The modern cabins, however, consist of four stone walls bearing a roof of lighter materials, such as thatch.

The possibility of an intermediate form receives a very interesting demonstration from the existence of a neat out-building attached to a farmhouse at Kilvickadownig. The house in question will be found close to the great lios, and on the Ventry side of it. This erection is of course quite modern, and was, in fact, built by the farmer's own hands. It consists of a cylindrical wall, at the top of which is a projecting eaves-course, and is roofed by a dome constructed exactly like a clochán. In the same farmyard is a similar building which presents a link between a building of the Gallerus type and such a structure as Teampull Beag.

There is, however, no ancient building on the settlement analogous to these. Between the clochán period and the cabin period there is a gap which neither tangible building nor oral tradition can be found to span.

D. Probable Physical Characteristics of the Ancient Inhabitants.—The evidence of ethnology, founded on a study of the modern inhabitants, is therefore to be rejected as uncertain in its bearings; and we are driven to investigate the remains themselves, in order to find whether they offer any testimony as to the physical characters of their builders. Two facts will be found to impress themselves strongly on the mind after a survey of the settlement; namely, that the race must have been small in stature, and of great physical strength. In deducing a small stature for the dwellers in the settlement, I do not rely on the small size of the entrances alone, though this is sufficiently remarkable. It is much easier to barricade a doorway that is small than one that is

large, and it is quite conceivable that the people should put up with the inconvenience of barely practicable entrances on account of the increased facilities of defence which they presented. There is, however, other and more conclusive testimony pointing in the same direction. The souterrain chambers are never much more than 5 feet high, and some of the clochán that retain their roofs are not much higher. Again, the cupboard-recesses that are so conspicuous a feature of most of the living rooms are at a height that would be inconveniently low for a man of the ordinary stature, even allowing for the level of the ground having risen. The physical strength of the inhabitants is evidenced by the great weights of the stones used by them in some of their constructions. While I was examining Cathair na Maoiline at Kilvickadownig, an old man came on the scene and made the preposterous assertion that all the buildings were modern. A lively discussion in Irish ensued between this alarmist and one of my guides, the upshot of which was the discomfiture of the old man: the matter being settled by reference to the size of the stones in one of the clochán, which are larger than stones that the present inhabitants would willingly manipulate. Another indication pointing in the same direction was noticed at Cathair Ban. The doorway of one of the souterrains having been found inconveniently small, some of the camp-followers were directed to raise a lintel of the roof which happened to be exposed; but though they put forth their full strength, the stone could not be moved an inch:—

> "Is náireach an bheart anois le rádh
> A's an oiread atá d'fhearaibh ann,
> Nach dtiocfadh le neart an tsluaigh
> An leac so thógbháil go lán-teann."

Of course it is possible that some of the simple mechanical powers were used by the builders of the clochán; but, even with this assumption, we may safely say that in point of strength they were at least on a par with, and probably superior to, their modern representatives.

E. Mode of life of the ancient inhabitants.—From the appearance of the structures, and from objects found in and among them, we are able to infer some few particulars about the ancient inhabitants of the district

besides the two physical characteristics just alluded to. We can tell something, with fair probability, about their food, their dress, their defences, their language, and the tribe to which they belonged.

1. **Food.**—Du Noyer considered that the people were agricultural, pastoral, and a hunting people, and in some degree the midden-heaps I examined suggest the same conclusion. But to judge from these valuable remains, the staple food was shell fish. There is probably hardly a clochán that, if its floor were examined, would not yield large numbers of limpet-shells. Limpets are still a favourite article of food, and I noticed shells on the rubbish-heaps outside more than one of the cottages. Periwinkles and scallops are also to be found in the clochán, but limpets are by far the most numerous of this class of food-stuff. I did not come across any fish-bones, but no doubt fish in greater or smaller quantities was eaten also.

The mountain-side on which the structures are found abounds in hares, and the boys of the modern villages are very expert in catching them. The presence of hare or rabbit bones in one of the Kilvickadownig clochán shows that the ancient inhabitants were able and ready to do so too. I have not found bones of the larger chase-animals, with the possible exception of a minute fragment which resembled a portion of a boar's tusk, from the same clochán.

Sheep and goat bones, found both at Kilvickadownig and in Cathair na Mairtíneach, indicate that we have to deal with a people who possessed these animals.

Grain, also, was cultivated and ground. Hand-querns have often been found in the clochán. They are of singularly small size; I have seen an upper stone, which is in the possession of Mr. Long of Fahan, that is not more than 8 inches in diameter. The small size of the mill-stones of their predecessors is an almost proverbial matter of common knowledge among the modern inhabitants. Others of larger size have been found: some were built into the new part of the wall in the restoration at Cathair Murphy.

The people, however, had got beyond the hand-mill stage, and were acquainted with water-mills: the ruin of their mill has already been

described (G 18). Water-mills were known in Ireland from an early time, and examples of references to them have been collected by Petrie in his *History and Antiquities of Tara Hill* (*R. I. A. Trans.*, vol. 18, p. 163). Remains recognisable as those of a water-mill were to be seen within this century on a streamlet on the little island of Ardoileán, off the Galway coast, no doubt connected with the seventh-century monastery, whose ruins are still existing there. For the Glenfahan *muilleann maol* I should hesitate before claiming so high an antiquity; but that it was constructed by at least the later inhabitants of the settlement for their use I have little doubt.

Good water is abundant in the district; and sea-birds' eggs, probably also carrigeen and dilisk (of which we could hardly expect any remains in the midden-heaps) would add variety to the food of the inhabitants.

2. **Dress.**—If sufficient evidence be forthcoming to enable us to form an outline of the range of food-stuffs, the same cannot be said of the dress of the inhabitants of the settlement. I am in a position to say only that wool was spun, for a spindle-whorl was discovered in Cathair an dhá Dhorus; and that some part of the dress was buttoned, for a button of steatite was found in the same place. Both these objects I purchased, and they are here figured.

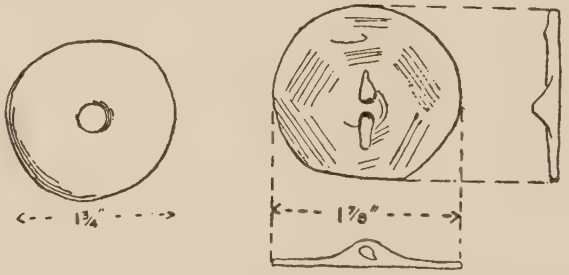

FIG. 10.—Spindle-whorl and button from Cathair an dhá Dhorus.

3. **Furniture, Utensils, &c.**—The question as to what furniture was used by the natives is very simply answered: they probably had none. The doorways are in most cases too narrow to permit any object of the kind to be passed through them; and the floor-areas of the chambers are too small to accommodate a family and a set of furniture as well. Strange to say I could find no trace of pottery, and could hear nothing about pottery

of any kind being found on the spot. Hearths were constructed of stone: one such remains *in situ*, in Cathair Murphy. In this case a rectangle is marked out on the floor, by small flat stones placed upright; but that is an unusual elaboration.* Stones were piled up in the majority of cases round the fire, and such stones, blackened with the heat and smoke, have been found in many of the structures: I have several fragments from Cathair na Mairtíneach. The smoke unquestionably found an exit by the door, for there is never an opening left in the roof when the clochán is perfect. In the more luxurious cases the bed consisted of a shaft driven into the wall; in some cases (as at Loc Cábún) opening into the outer air, which must have been a cold arrangement in winter time, but in others (as at Clochán Sgológa), opening into one of the chambers. Where there was no bed, the family no doubt slept round the fire, or in a row on the floor of the living room, as the people at Iniskea used to do till recently. Indeed, in the life of the people of Iniskea, so graphically described by Dr. Browne (*Proc. R. I. A.*, Ser. iii, vol. i, p. 587), we probably see a picture of the stage of civilization next above that of the ancient dwellers in the Fahan district. The small size of the majority of the cupboard recesses indicates that their portable property, of whatever it may have consisted, was also small, and when the people abandoned the clocháns no doubt they carried their possessions with them.

4. Defences and Weapons.—The nature and purpose of the defences must now occupy our attention. Comparatively few clocháns are found entirely unprotected. In the more elaborate cases of the great cathairs a thick wall is built round the whole area to be defended; and in a few less important structures, as at Loc Cábún, the same expedient was followed. At Clochán Tomáis the wall appears to have been built on that side only whence an attack was expected. Many trusted in their inconspicuousness. Another method, followed in the simpler class of buildings, consisted in strengthening the entrance, or in rendering it difficult to approach. The doorway was always small, so that it could easily be barricaded; and in many cases an avenue (now generally nearly abraded, but no doubt

* The object of the irregular tracks marked by such stones across the floors of some chambers in Glenfahan is still a mystery.

originally of considerable importance) led up to it. This could be blocked at intervals: and additional elements of difficulty were introduced by rendering it tortuous (as at Loc na Luinge móire) or of extravagant length (as at Clochán O'Lee). In one case (Clochán an Árdáin) the entrance is approached by a covered passage, along which it was necessary to creep. Had Du Noyer seen the latter building he might with reason have pointed to it as illustrating his Eskimo analogies.

So far as there is any protection in the settlement it is provided by each householder for himself. Cathair Connor and the rest were isolated units, fortified for their own defence, but of no value in protecting one another—indeed quite possibly hostile to one another, when there was no external enemy to consolidate the settlement.

Where the structural defences were so elaborate it is impossible that the means of offence should not have been equally well considered. No weapons of any kind have however been found in the whole district: these would be too valuable to have been left behind at the abandonment of the settlement. But the most simple and obvious weapons would be stone missiles, and no doubt these occupied an important place in the military equipment of the inhabitants. The defenders of one of the gigantic walls would find in the materials of the wall itself the wherewithal to discomfit their adversaries. Wood, too, was rare, so that spear-shafts cannot have been common. This is a matter worth a moment's consideration. West of Dingle there is hardly a tree to be seen, and it would now be a matter of no little difficulty for the man who, by hypothesis, set out the two clochán at Kilvickadownig, K 4 and 5, to find a rod of sufficient length within a reasonable distance. Neither the soil nor the situation of the place on the Atlantic coast is favourable to the growth of trees. To the east of Dingle the case seems to have been different. With the exception of a pretty cluster near the well-known Horseshoe-road, and some at Ballintaggart and elsewhere, very few trees are now to be seen in this part of Corkaguiney either; but there are lively traditions that at one time, not very far removed from our own, the trees were so closely planted that it would have been possible to walk on their tops from Dingle to Tralee! But even Dingle would have been a long distance for the natives of

Fahan to go for spear-shafts, and we are compelled to suppose that such weapons were comparatively scarce among them.

The Battle of Ventry.—It is futile to inquire concerning the enemies which the inhabitants had to dread. Tradition has preserved the record of one combat fought in the immediate neighbourhood, to which we naturally turn in the hope of finding some side-light on the early inhabitants of the district. I refer of course to the *Cath Finntrága.*

a. **The basis of the tale.**—It is not the least claim to distinction possessed by this extraordinary tale, that it staggered even the muscular credulity of O'Curry; its amazing impossibilities compelled him to regard it as "a pure fiction" and "of no absolute value as historic authority for the events related in it" (*MS. Mat.*, pp. 315, 316). The story, however, is not to be dismissed so summarily. Strange to say, it is more certain of this tale that it enshrines a historic tradition than of the majority of the other Irish romances. For the site of a battle that must at some time have been fought on the shore of Ventry Harbour is still to be seen in the earthworks that occupy a field bearing the suggestive name of *Cluain na fhola**—"the field of blood." It will be found by entering the gate on the left-hand side of the road, just before the cross-road between the Roman Catholic Chapel of Ventry and Kilvickadownig, and proceeding straight to the sea-side. That the tale itself is, as it stands, quite incredible, everyone will agree with O'Curry.

b. **Analysis of the tale.**—As is well-known, the tale describes a raid made by Daire Donn, the high king of the whole world, and a long train of vassal monarchs, upon Ireland; his attack on the men of Fionn, at Ventry; and his final defeat after a battle that lasted the unheard-of length of a year and a day. The tale, as we have it in the fifteenth-century Bodleian MS., edited by Professor Kuno Meyer in the Oxford series of *Anecdota*, is obviously prepared for oral recitation; the long rows of alliterative adjectives, and the really gorgeous vividness of description, are admirably suited for impassioned rhetorical declamation. It is specially noteworthy for the picturesque tale of Goll, the youthful prince of Ulster, whose combat with Dolar Durba, the gigantic champion of the invaders, is a kind of Irish

* Sic: recté *fola.*

echo of the Biblical story of David and Goliath; and for the exquisitely beautiful death-song of Geilgheis.

c. **The lessons of the tale.**—We are not however concerned, in the present paper, with the plot of the story. The most important point germane to our investigation is the accurate topographical knowledge displayed by the redactor of the tale. It is possible to read through the story and to identify in the majority of cases the exact spot which was in the writer's mind at each stage of the narrative. Even more important to observe are the limitations of that knowledge. Thus, the first incident of the story is a storm (described in very graphic language with almost a plethora of metaphor and simile), which nearly discomfits the invaders; but they take refuge *ar in maithinis na ndomun ocus ag glascarraig risi naberthar Sgeilleag Michil aniubh*—"on the good island of the world, and at the green rock, that is called Sgeilig Mhichil to-day." This is just what might have been written by one accustomed to the lovely distant view of the Sgeilig from Ventry, but he would hardly have sheltered his heroes at that forbidding place had his horizon been broader. These considerations indicate, to my mind, that the redactor was a native of Ventry, possibly a bardic attaché of the owner of Rahinnane Castle. He wrote the tale down as it was told among the people in his day, and as it still exists on the lips of the inhabitants of the district.

The "three forts."—If then we find in the story of the Battle of Ventry any reference which may reasonably be referred to the Fahan district, we may with tolerable certainty accept its substantial accuracy. And as Mr. Westropp has mentioned (*Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1897, p. 301), such a reference seems actually to exist.

When the king of the world and his followers, under the guidance of the renegade Glas mac Dreamhain, reached Ventry, it was arranged (somewhat prematurely, as the event showed) that, on the expected partition of Ireland, to the King of Spain should be assigned the spot where they landed. That monarch was therefore commissioned, as in duty bound, to provide refreshment for his companions for the first night. Then follows an extremely interesting passage. "It is then that the King of Spain arose and four red-weaponed battalions with him: and

they went across the coasts of the territory [*i. e.* the territory intended for the Spanish king] at once. Now there were three forts in the west of this territory ; to wit Dún Cais, Dún Aedha, and Dún Cearbain. And the King of Spain burnt them ; chiefs and lords, women and children, hounds and men, vessels and horns and cups: there were thrice fifty of a household in each fort, and they were all burnt by them."

If a native of Ventry be found to write about three forts to the west of Ventry Harbour, it is safe to assert that he can have been thinking of the forts in the Fahan district only: and we see therefore in this story a miniature sketch of the nature of the predatory raids to which these steadings must have been exposed. We see a confirmation of the conclusions to which we had already arrived from an examination of the remains. Each of the forts has its own set of chiefs and lords: there is nothing said of the three joining forces to withstand the Spanish pirates.

Of the forts of Cas, of Aed, and of Cerban, it is hardly necessary to say that their memorial has perished with them. In the faint hope of finding a lingering tradition of these names I made some inquiries after them, but, as I had expected, in vain. I cannot, however, refrain from venturing on a conjecture that has occurred to me. Special reference is made to *three* forts by the writer, whom we have seen to possess local knowledge. Now there are just *three* forts of outstanding size and importance on the eastern side of the Glenfahan River; and those on the west side of the river were not accessible by road when the tale was written down as we have it. It does not seem at all impossible that the forts we now know as Cathair Nuadh, Cathair Connor, and Cathair na Mairtíneach may not actually have been the structures intended by the redactor of the tale. We have already seen that these forts change their names with their occupants.

Whether this be so or not, we have thus preserved to us a vignette of life in the larger fortresses in the Fahan district. It is not easy to believe the household of thrice fifty for each, but that may safely be put down to picturesque exaggeration. But we are in a position to people each fort with men, women, and children, presided over by one or more chieftains, and supplied with vessels, drinking-horns, cups, hounds, and servants. That the writer of the tale regarded them as possessing ornaments is not

quite clear, though from other places between Ventry and Smerwick were taken "plunder, and *turtedh* (whatever that may be), and silver."

5. **Language and Tribe.**—If we could be certain that the ogham stone on Dún Mór belonged to an inhabitant of the settlement, as seems most probable, then we could say definitely that the language of the people was Irish, slightly contaminated by the influence of an agglutinating idiom, and that they, or some of them, were descendants of the famous heroine Duibne. The name of this lady appears on the stone, but in a connexion now, unfortunately, impossible to ascertain; for though the arris on which the name occurs seems to have borne an inscription along its whole length, all is now quite undecipherable save the final word DOVINIA. The loss of this portion of the inscription is probably one of the heaviest epigraphic losses that Irish scholars have suffered, for the vague traces before the name are quite inconsistent with any of the ordinary copulative formulæ.

There is nothing new which can be said here of the inscription on the other arris. The two facts with which we are here concerned are the agglutinism it shows in the form ERC-MAQI, and the use of a metronymic MAQI-ERCIAS, indicating that the paternity of the individual concerned, or of some of his near ancestors, was doubtful. The language and state of morals in the settlement thus receive illustration from this monument.

The name of Duibne is found on several other ogham stones of the barony; but, so far as I can discover, does not enter into any place-names except that of the barony itself. Corco Duibne—"the people of Duibne" is one of the territorial names mentioned most frequently in our romances. The present Barony of Corkaguiney does not, however, represent more than a small portion of the district originally denoted by this name. So late as the seventeenth century the learned and accurate O'Clery could write of Cesair and her companions landing "at Dún na mBarc in Corkaguiney" (Leabhar Gabhala, *ad init.*). The race was divided into three septs—the Ui Failbhe, who inhabited the present Corkaguiney; the Ui Seagha, in Iveragh; and the Ui Conghaile, in Magunihy (O'Donovan, "Leabhar na gCeart," p. 47). These names in their anglicised forms are common still, as well as the parent name, now called Devine.

Of Duibne herself we know nothing, unless we accept some old wives'

tales, half scandalous, half marvellous. The chroniclers tell us that she was daughter of one of the Conairés, and sister-wife of Cairbre Musc, by whom she had twin sons; from one of these, Corc, the race is said to be descended. The Lebor na hUidre gives a remarkable account of his purification from the discredit of his birth, of which the Cóir Anmann, that most interesting of Irish tracts, speaks in terms of reprobation. It is quite likely that this story is a malicious libel got up by some rival family to throw obloquy on the descendants of the heroine. I see no reason to believe a single word of it, or else to subscribe to the inverse euhemerism of modern times which would exalt Duibne into the position of a by no means respectable Celtic divinity.

If the Dún Mór stone be regarded as proving that one inhabitant of the settlement was of the race of Duibne, it probably follows that the majority of his neighbours were of the same stock; for if the settlement were founded on any basis at all it must have been tribal. The Corkaguiney branch of the clan were descended from one who at some time held sovereignty over this region; for "Failbhe, King of Corkaguiney," is a stock character in our later texts.

Section III.—The Date of the Settlement.

The current Theory.—Among those who do not subscribe to the "monastery" theory it is universally assumed that the settlement belongs to the Pagan period. This is not the case with our native writers only, but also with others as well. Thus Professor Baldwin Brown, in an interesting series of articles on the "Ancient Architecture of Ireland," figures the interior of a doorway in Cathair Connor as a typical example of Pagan architecture (see the *Builder*, 25 September 1897).

Certainly the character of the architecture of the buildings is not such as we are accustomed to associate with Christianity. The great forts in the Aran Islands are the remains to which we naturally turn for analogies. There is nothing ecclesiastical about the settlement save one little church that in this remote district might well have been erected as late as the fourteenth or fifteenth century. But there are scattered facts which make

it necessary to pause, and to submit the remains to a careful examination before giving the pagan theory a complete acceptance.

Evidence of date.—There are no definite architectural landmarks in the series to which we can point as supplying a point of departure in time. We are confined to an examination of the monuments which have been left behind by the inhabitants, in the hope that from them some data may be gathered.

Monuments.—Considering that at any one time there was accommodation (at a low estimate) for 1000 people in the settlement, the number of monuments that have come down to us is surprisingly small. They are as follows:—

Uninscribed pillar stones:—

Gallán na geallaige (Kilvickadownig).
Four galláns east of Dún Beag.
Gallán an tsagairt (Fahan).
Gallán an eidhne (Fahan).
Gallán, above the bed, Clochán Ais (Glenfahan).
Gallán an smólaighe, on hillside above G 72.
Cloch guail, at north end of Coumeenoole North.
Gallán Ghráinne ní Mháille, not far from the latter, at a lower level.
Carraig an chapaill, near the last.

Stones inscribed with crosses, or cut into the form of crosses:—

Two in Kilvickadownig ceallúrach.
Two at Parc na Croise.
Three at Teampull Beag.
Two (with three crosses each) at F 27.
Two in Coumeenoole ceallúrach.
One (lost) at Dún Mór.

Inscriptions:—

The Dún Mór stone.
The Cathair Murphy stone.
The Cathair na Mairtíneach stone.
Three stones with unintelligible ornament.

1. **Standing stones.**—Of the eleven standing stones, the four east of Dún

Beag are probably terminal rather than memorial. The remaining appear to be monumental, and would not naturally be regarded as Christian. The stone above G 72 is conspicuous from the roadside. I did not mark it on my map, as I am half-inclined to suspect that it is natural, and merely one of the many fantastic rock-shapes to be seen on the hill-side above Slea Head. The Gallán at the north end of Coumeenoole North I have not seen; it is somewhat obscurely indicated on the 6-inch map, and not at all on the 25-inch sheets, and it escaped my notice till after I had left the district. What Granuaile has to do with its neighbour I cannot say.

2. Crosses.—Whatever doubt may be felt about the period to which to assign the galláns, there is, at any rate, no question about the twelve crosses or cross-slabs to be found in the district covered by the settlement. We are here in the presence of Christianity, at the east end, towards the middle, and at the west end of the series. The ceallúrachs are burial places of ancient Christians, though now used for the unbaptized alone; but there can be no doubt that the Christians in question lived in the houses which stand in their neighbourhood.

3. Inscriptions: the Cathair Murphy stone.—There is, however, nothing that has yet presented itself to our observation to prevent our regarding the buildings as pagan in their origin, though inhabited down to a period later than the introduction of Christianity. There is no proof that the persons commemorated by the cross-marked slabs were the same individuals as those who had built the clocháns. The Dún Mór inscription, to which we need not again allude, does not give us much assistance in the determination of date; but when we turn to the second of the three inscriptions mentioned in the above list, we are confronted with a piece of evidence that is calculated to shake a good many preconceived notions about this settlement. The discovery of this stone, and its safe housing in Dublin, is a result of the restorations which atones for some little indiscretions that may have been committed in their course.

We have in this monument, here figured, an inscribed stone, about 4 feet in height, used constructionally in one of the most important of the cathairs. It is inscribed on both faces and both edges, and therefore the sculpturing is older than the cathair; but its Christian nature is obvious,

and it follows, therefore, that the cathair is later in date than the period of the introduction of Christianity.

Upon one face of the stone is a cross of the type commonly, though erroneously, called Maltese, incised, very roughly cut, and utterly spoilt artistically by being mounted on an ugly little stem. Beneath is a meandering line, interrupted at intervals by divergent spirals. In the centre is an unspeakably rude representation of a man, while at the right-hand edge is the figure of a crozier.

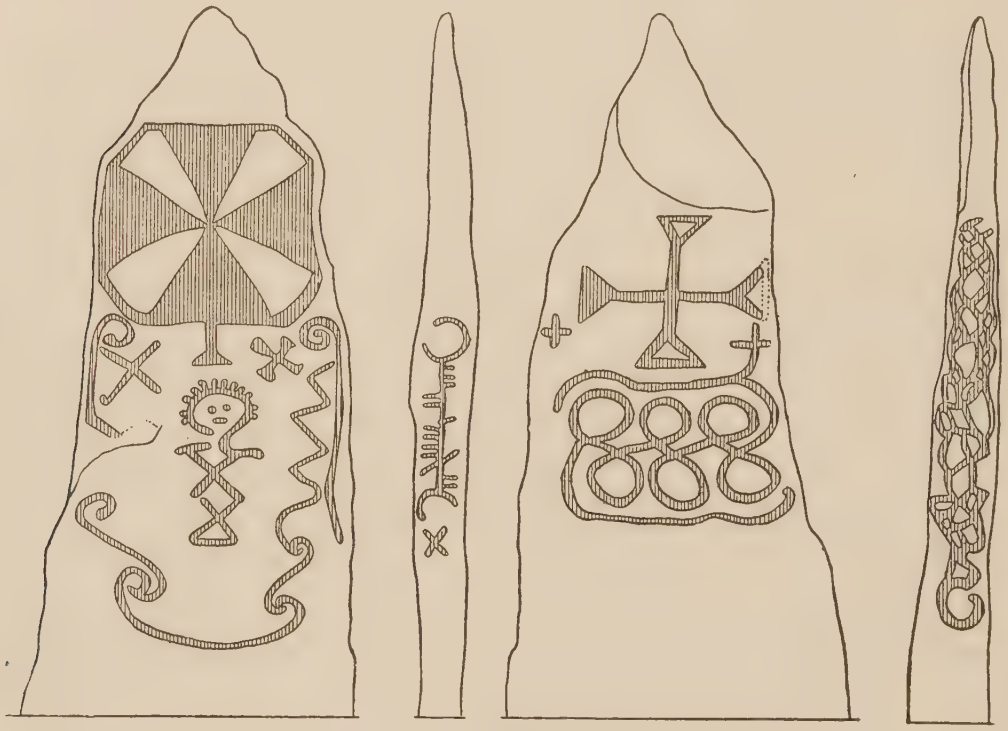

Fig. 11.—Inscribed stone from Cathair Murphy, Glenfahan.

The opposite face of the stone bears a smaller but still conspicuous cross, with expanded ends to the keys, below which is a pattern consisting of a cord wound into a series of figures of 8; bifurcating at one end, so as to connect with a small cross cut near the edge.

The edges of the slab are also inscribed. That to the left of the face first mentioned bears what is surely the rudest attempt at a plait of cords to be found on any monument in Ireland. The other bears a vertical

stemline, incised, with curves attached to it above and below, and the following inscription, in Ogham letters, depending from it:—

L M C B D V

reading upwards in the ordinary direction. Other conceivable readings are V D B C M L, D M S H L T, or T L H S M D.

In the impossibility of making anything articulate, not to say intelligible, of this sequence of letters, I omitted this inscription from the collection of Corkaguiney oghams in the recently published Part I of my *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*. I regarded the inscription as belonging to the interesting and little understood group of pseudo-Oghams, found sporadically in Ireland.

I am now, however, inclined to think otherwise; because it has occurred to me that a very similar inscription is found on an amber bead, long used in Ennis as a child-birth amulet, and now safely deposited in the British Museum. The inscription is figured in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, vol. iii, p. 339. It must be read retroversely, to compare it with the Glenfahan legend. There are two characters, which are not oghmic, though they might have been intended for the U of the so-called diphthong group. I do not, however, regard them as such: the first I consider simply as a B with an accidental scrape running out from it; the second as an initial flourish, like the curves in the Glenfahan stone. The inscription does not encircle the bead, as might be supposed from the illustration; it extends round about three-fourths of the circumference, and, reading from right to left, runs—

L M C B T M

The first four letters are identical with the corresponding letters on the stone; and it is at least curious that the two remaining, T and M, are cognate with D and V respectively. I attach little importance to this latter fact; and the difference probably denotes a difference in the formula, whatever it may mean.

The purport of the inscription does not concern the main question of date, to elucidate which it is cited; but it may possibly be found ultimately to throw considerable light on the question of the nature of the Christianity

professed by the inhabitants of the settlement. This is a question which I have intentionally avoided in the present paper. It is bound up with very obscure problems in Irish archæology, among which may be named the reason why ancient consecrated Christian cemeteries are now degraded to receptacles for the remains of the unbaptized and the suicide. I am, however, tempted to proceed a little further along the digression to which I have been led, at the risk of incurring the charge of diffuseness; hoping that I may call special attention to this monument, which I cannot but consider of unique interest, and which future investigators may demonstrate to be of the highest importance.

The most obvious feature about the stone is the resemblance of the design on the face first described above, with the combination of cross and spirals on the stone in the ceallúrach at Reask, in the north-west of the same barony. It is true that the latter is one of the most beautiful, the Glenfahan stone one of the most degraded, examples of early Irish Christian sculpture that have come down to us; but the resemblance is nevertheless so strong that it can hardly be accidental. There is, however, one difference. The Glenfahan stone presents the mysterious formula given above, the Reask stone bears in a nearly corresponding place the letters DNE (*Domine*). The only explanation that occurs to me is one which I give with a good deal of hesitation, but I can think of nothing better; that the one is an occult formula of some kind, while the other is a simple straightforward Christian invocation.* In other words, that the Glenfahan stone is a monument of the Pagan-Christian overlap, and its sculpturing shows indications of both influences.

If this theory be found to be based on a satisfactory foundation, it will clearly be fraught with far-reaching consequences. Not only with the views hitherto held respecting the date of the settlement at Fahan and the religion of its inhabitants be modified, but other branches of Irish archæ-

* It is, however, possible that the DNE might also have some mystical significance; it does not seem to be a natural formula to be engraved without any other accompanying words upon a Christian stone. The same or a similar invocation occurs elsewhere, and Professor Rhŷs has identified it in the Papa Stronsay stone in the Orkneys. The Logie wheel-ogham might be considered in an investigation of epigraphic mysticism, though it is outside our present subject, as its inscription differs from those at present under discussion.

ology will be affected as well. Thus, it will be found to have a bearing on the question of the origin of the Ogham script, and on the problems of the pre-Christian religion of Ireland.

It is a very dangerous step now-a-days for an archæologist to so much as allude to druidic occultism, and any reputation he may have acquired is liable to be seriously impaired thereby. But although the nonsense that has been written about this and cognate subjects would fill a good-sized library, yet it is highly probable that some such system had an actual existence in Ireland; and if this be so, then it is a legitimate subject for investigation, provided reliable data are forthcoming. Now, the magical use of Ogham is a commonplace in the Irish prose romances. Consider, for example, the use of the Oghams by the *drui* of Eochaid Airem, when commissioned by that monarch to find Étáin. As told in the Egerton MS. (ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, p. 129) this well-known portion of the tale runs thus:—

Is ann sin ro chuir Eochaid a drui d' iarraidh Etaine, .i. Dalán a ainmm in drúadh. Is edh tanicc reime an la sae síar connicci in slíab rissin-apur Sliab Dálán, ocus ro bui ann in oidqi sin. Ba tromm imorro laissin druid dicheilt Etáiniu fair fri re bliadna, co ndernui iarsin IIII flescca ibir ocus scrípaidh oghumm inntib, ocus foillsighthir do triana eochraib écsi ocus triana oghumm .i. Etain do bith i sith Breg Leith iarna breth do Midir inn.

Which means—

"It is then Eochaid sent his druid to seek Étáin. Dalán was the name of the druid. He went westward that day to the mountain called Sliab Dálán, and was there that night. Now the druid took it ill that Étáin was hidden from him for a year; so he made thereafter four twigs of yew, and wrote ogham on them: and it was revealed to him through his keys of knowledge and through his ogham that Étáin was in the mound of Brí Léith, after Midir had brought her there."

Quite irrespective of the questions whether the *Tochmarc Étáine* be veritable history or consciously invented fiction, or else a sun-myth or a culture-myth, or any other sort of myth, we may take it that at the time when the story was written down in its present form the use of Ogham as a medium for magic was not regarded as a wild impossibility. But whether this tale have any bearing on the stone in question or not, the facts are indisputable: that a stone inscribed with crosses on both faces, and therefore Christian, is found bearing an unintelligible Ogham inscription;

and that a nearly identical inscription is found on an object whose magical properties were traditional down to the present century.* To those skilled in occultism I leave any further attempt to elucidate the inscription from Cathair Murphy.

As we stand on the enclosing wall of this intensely barbaric structure, in the light of the evidence of its date which this stone affords, it is impossible to suppress a disquieting train of thought. We turn southwards and look over the glorious Bay of Dingle towards Staigue, and then carry our imagination northwards to Dún Beag and Cathair Con-Rí, the stone forts of Clare, the stupendous Dún Aongúsa and its companions on Aran, and the Grianán of Aileach in distant Donegal. The fort at our feet, despite its modern dress, seems no less ancient than these; and we are constrained to ask if their dates must be brought down also? Such, at least, is the question that occurred to me; and I record it, as a warning that the archæology of Ireland is still as slippery as her turf-bogs, and that ground which appears the firmest is often the most dangerous.

The Cathair na Mairtineach Stone.—Of the third inscription I have little to say. One of my guides told me that his father had found a stone with writing on it in the perfect chamber of Clochán *b*, Cathair na Mairtíneach. Next day he fetched it for my inspection, and offered it for sale. In order not to lose any chance of obtaining light upon it I purchased it, and it is at present in my possession.

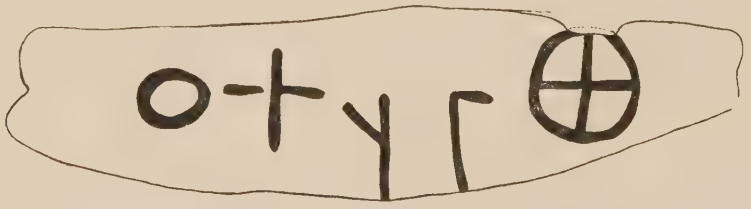

FIG. 12.—Inscribed stone from Cathair na Mairtíneach, Glenfahan.

It is triangular in section, 1 foot 6 inches in length. The above illustration shows the inscription. I am compelled to record my own doubts of its genuineness, my impression being that it was the handiwork

* Compare the Runic ÆRÜRIUFLT ÜRIURITHON GLÆSTÆPONTOL found on four finger-rings from different parts of England.

of some clever native who had been inspired by the two excursions which the Royal Society of Antiquaries have made to this spot, to prepare some saleable commodity before a like occasion should come again. It is my duty to warn brother archæologists who may make a visit to this site against the indiscriminate purchase of antiquities. As soon as my readiness to buy became known some absurd objects were offered for my acceptance; and I saw one or two "inscriptions" in process of preparation.

Random Scribings.—At the Clochán Bothair an Trasnuig (F 27) and on two stones close to Cathair Murphy (G 24) are to be found strange meaningless scribings. See the figures, pp. 237 and 256 *ante.*

Deductions.—The net result of this inquiry, though meagre, has been to establish the fact that the minor limit of the period during which the city was inhabited, and even of the period of building the great pagan-like fortresses, falls within the Christian epoch. If the suggestions as to the nature of the Cathair Murphy stone, above thrown out, be at all tenable, the paganism of the Ogham may have encouraged the builders to make use of the stone as common building material, which they might not have done had it been wholly Christian: in this case the date of the structure must be later than the Overlap period.

The Glenfahan Amulet.—One other relic has come to my notice. It is a small stone object, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, shaped like a fishing-sinker, perforated at the lower end, and signed with the cross. It was found in Cathair an dhá Dhorus, and was purchased by me from Mr. Sayers, who occupies the land on which that fort stands. Of its genuineness there can be no doubt, and it is evidence that this structure also was inhabited, if not erected, within Christian times.* An illustration is here given, showing the front and side. There is a scratch on the reverse face, but nothing of importance.

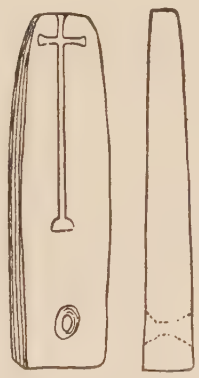

Fig. 13.—Amulet or touch-stone from Cathair an dhá Dhorus, Glenfahan.

* It has been identified, by my friend Professor Ridgeway of Cambridge, as a touchstone, probably also used as a disease amulet. He has referred me to other specimens, but knows of no other instance signed with the cross.

Other evidence of date.—A consideration of quite a different nature may here be adduced, as pointing in the same direction—the comparative lateness of the settlement. This is the extraordinary rarity of any secondary constructions. Had the buildings been erected at the primeval date claimed by Du Noyer and other writers, they would certainly have become insufficient for the requirements of inhabitants during the Christian period: it is impossible that the march of civilization should have been so long suspended. Yet, out of a total of two hundred, only two show any definite trace of having been altered from their original plan—I do not of course consider cases in which the modern peasantry have made changes necessary in adapting structures for sheepfolds—and even one of these contains an element of uncertainty. The buildings referred to are Cb 4*a*, in which a bed has unquestionably been constructed in the *débris* resulting from an ancient fall; and Clochán O'Lee (CS 10), in which it is possible that the small chambers contained inside the main apartment may have been constructed at some time later than the original building. They are built against the wall of the principal chamber, but not bonded with it.

Were it not for the evidence of a comparatively late date afforded by such considerations, I should have hesitated before making use of the Cath Finntrága in endeavouring to reconstruct the life of the inhabitants of the settlement.

Major limit of date.—It is much more difficult to assign a major limit of date to the settlement. This will probably be found to lie within the pagan period; it must do so, in fact, if the galláns be pagan monuments, as is almost certainly the case. But apart from this there is at present an entire absence of definite evidence on the subject.

The Duns.—The problem of the two great dúns must now be resumed where we abandoned it at the end of Section I. We there saw that neither of them could be regarded as of any use in protecting the settlement: but the conclusions to which I have been led—rather unexpectedly to myself—with regard to them will be found to be involved with the question of its origin.

Fortified Headlands in general.—One of the most interesting groups of the military antiquities of Ireland is the series of fortified headlands that girdle our coasts; and it is much to be wished that some archæologist with the necessary leisure and means would make these the subject of an exhaustive monograph. In the absence of material, such as a monograph of this nature would provide, for determining the average character of these fortifications, I had recourse to the six-inch Ordnance map, and examined the coast-line as there shown. As a preliminary list of fortified headlands the following, which I noted from the map, may be offered:—

County of Antrim:—			
Dunmall (double),	Ordnance Sheet		20
Knocksoghey,	,,	,,	4
Tor Head (?),	,,	,,	10
County of Clare*:—			
Doonauroe (Foohagh Point),	,,	,,	55
Doondoillroe (Tullig),	,,	,,	65
Dunlecky (at the Castle),	,,	,,	55
Moher Fort (Ballylaan),	,,	,,	14
County of Cork:—			
Doon, Big (?),	,,	,,	125
Doon, Little (?),	,,	,,	125
Dooneendermotmore (Tochead) (?)	,,	,,	100
Doonpower (Lahard) (?),	,,	,,	100
Doonsorske (Killowen),	,,	,,	113
Portadoona (Scrofaun),	,,	,,	151
Portadooneen (Courtmacsherry),	,,	,,	136
County of Donegal:—			
Doonbalor (Tory Island) (?),	,,	,,	6
Largy (Largysillagh),	,,	,,	97
Plughoge,	,,	,,	48
Ranny,	,,	,,	27
County of Dublin:—			
Drumanagh,	,,	,,	8
Dun Criffin (Howth),	,,	,,	16

* For information respecting the Clare forts, and for the list of those in Mayo, I am indebted to Mr. Westropp. Dr. Charles Browne gives several in the latter county.—Proc. R.I.A., vol. III, ser. iii, p. 641.

COUNTY OF GALWAY :—			
Doocaher (Killeany, Aran Island),	Ordnance Sheet		119
COUNTY OF KERRY :—			
Cahercarbery (Tiduff),	,,	,,	13
Coosheenadagallaun (Cool, west),	,,	,,	78
Dún Beag (Doon Sheane),	,,	,,	52
Dún Mór (Doon Sheane),	,,	,,	52
Doonywealaun (Paddock),	,,	,,	53
Lissadooneen (Beal Middle),	,,	,,	1
Poulnadoona (Cloghanecanuig),	,,	,,	96
COUNTY OF MAYO* :—			
Doonamoe,	,,	,,	9
Doon-fiacra,	,,	,,	2
Doonmore (Inisbofin),	,,	,,	114
Doonvinalla,	,,	,,	1
Spinkadoon,	,,	,,	2
COUNTY OF WATERFORD :—			
Ballyvoony,	,,	,,	32
Coolum,	,,	,,	27
Garrarus,	,,	,,	26
Island Hubbock,	,,	,,	32
Islandshane, South,	,,	,,	26
Rathmoylan,	,,	,,	27
Shanooan (Dunmore),	,,	,,	27
Westtown,	,,	,,	26
Woodstown,	,	,,	25
COUNTY OF WEXFORD :—			
Baginbun Head,	,,	,,	50
Nook (Ramstown),	,,	,,	44
COUNTY OF WICKLOW :—			
Black Castle,	,,	,,	25

Of these it is to be noticed :—

(i) That the regular name for them is dún : cathair but twice occurs.

(ii) That no combinations of earth and stone are indicated on the map.

This is not conclusive, as the small scale of the map would render it difficult

* Also these headlands—Doon (sheet 84), Doonaderg (9), Doonallia (75), Doonaneinir (9), Doonanierin (3), Doonbristy (7), Dooncloak (85), Doonmara (4), Doontraneen (75), and Downpatrick (7).

to make a distinction of materials: but in any case the large majority of the fortifications are obviously earth only, and I could find none that were obviously stone, except the example in the earthless Aran Island.*

(iii) That with one exception (Islandshane in Waterford) no buildings apparently coeval with the fortifications are shown on the tongue of land which is protected. Here is marked a "site of ancient Irish dwelling."

The Waterford series is the most striking. In these the mounds are generally two in number, twice one, and once (Garrarus) three, or possibly four.

Now in all these respects Dún Mór, at Coumeenoole, fits into this series, and conforms with its distinctive characteristics. And so would Dún Beag *if all the stone-work were removed.*†

As fortifications connected with the settlement, these two structures are absolutely valueless. In one manner only could we suppose that they might be of use to the inhabitants, and O'Curry has stated it, in the sequel to the quotation we have already made from his work. "These forts," he says, "were not intended for the immediate protection of anything but what happened to be permanently (or at all events occasionally, in time of danger) kept or placed within their walls." Should a raid take place, we might suppose the villagers on the east side of the Glenfahan river depositing their children and their cattle in Dún Beag, and those on the western side of the river making use of Dún Mor in a similar manner.

If this were the purpose for which these headlands were fortified, then it must be confessed that the inhabitants showed amazingly little foresight in not providing means of approach to either fort. It is true that a system of roads radiates from a point close to each, but these are of no use in expediting traffic between some of even the more important steadings and the supposed havens of refuge. In the event of a raid, which would in the

*Doonamoe has also got a dry-stone rampart and the remains of a *chevaux-de-frise*. See paper by Mr. W. Wakeman, Journal of Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland, vol. IX, series iv, p. 182. See also Col. Wood-Martin's *Pagan Ireland*, pp. 190–191. Mr. Westropp informs me that John Lloyd's "Impartial Tour in County Clare," 1778, describes Moher fort in Clare as having a stone wall. Stonework also occurs at Spinkadoon, County Mayo.

†I have not included these fortifications in the above list. The Dún Beag and Dún Mór there inserted are quite different structures.

majority of cases be unexpected, the inhabitants beside the banks of the Glenfahan River would have but a poor chance of getting their perishable property safely housed in either of the dúns.

If, however, we suppose, for the moment, the settlement to be non-existent, and the stone wall of Dún Beag removed, together with the souterrain and the clochán within the precincts of the fort, we should then have two links in the long chain of headlands fortified by earthen mounds, that stretches round the coast of Ireland. According to this view these two fortifications are in origin completely independent of the settlement; and their *raison d'être* is the same as that of their fellows, whatever that may exactly have been. But they serve no conceivable purpose to the inhabitants of the settlement.

The presence of the stone wall in Dún Beag would then demand explanation: and a possible explanation is easily found. A cathair-building chieftain might easily be supposed to "squat" on so tempting a site—remote from the hostility of neighbours, already protected by the labour of more ancient inhabitants, and well guarded on all sides but one by such natural defences as the sea and the precipitous cliffs afforded. He would require to build one thick wall only, on the landward side, and a slighter cliff wall to prevent children or cattle from falling over, and to protect his household from the missiles of possible enemies stationed on adjacent headlands. In time of peace his cattle might graze on the great field he had walled round to the north of his fort, and might be driven in at a moment's notice when he had hostile attacks to fear. It must be remembered that at the time when this hypothetical chief lived the area to the seaward side of the fort-wall was probably much greater than it is now: even within the last two years the sea has made serious encroachments on the promontory. The elaboration and subtlety introduced into the system of defences about the doorway perhaps indicate that the adaptation of Dún Beag as a private cathair took place at a later date than the construction of the large circular forts on the hill-side, which do not show these peculiarities.

Chronology of earth and stone forts.—The general principle that earth precedes stone seems to be fairly sound. We have seen that a Christian

ceallúrach is superposed on an earthen lios at Kilvickadownig; and if the view of the origin of Dún Beag here suggested be accepted, the same guiding rule in archæological chronology will receive further illustration. It is to be observed that the earthen remains preponderate at the eastern end of the settlement, which suggests that the eastern end is the older, and that the growth was towards the west. This is what would be expected. Kilvickadownig appears to be the most fertile of the townlands covered by the remains, and affords the easiest approach to the sea; and it was probably always easily accessible from Ventry, which, as existing remains show, must have been inhabited from very early times. The rugged, trackless southern slopes of Mount Eagle and Beennacouma are certainly less tempting to settlers who are more concerned with the needs of existence than with scenery.

Kilvickadownig and the "King of the World."—And it is not impossible that the name of the townland Kilvickadownig may be regarded as indicating the same conclusion. The names "Fahan" and "Glenfahan," meaning simply "Slope" and "Valley of the Slope," are mere descriptive names that might have been applied at any time; but there is every reason for supposing that in the name "Kilvickadownig" we are face to face with a pagan cultus, and therefore it follows that its invention cannot be later than the introduction of Christianity.

The name Kilvickadownig is interpreted as *Cill Mhic an Domhnaigh*, "the cell (church or graveyard) of the Son of Sunday"; an abbreviated expression for *Cill Mhic Rígh an Domhnaigh*—"the cell of the Son of the King of Sunday." The expression *Rí an Domhnaigh* is popular in modern Irish, and is very frequent as a euphemism in folk-tales in connexions where the introduction of the Divine Name or Person would be considered profane: see, for example, the Galway story called *Seághan Tinncéar*, in Hyde's *Sgeuluidhe Gaodhalach*, part I. The similarity of this expression to the *Rí an Domain*—"king of the world," which we find in other tales, is so marked that we can hardly doubt that the one is a derivative of the other: possibly the influence of the expression, "Lord of the Sabbath," in Matthew xii, 8, has had something to do in developing the later form.

Now the fact that on the townland of Kilvickadownig the grave of Daire

Donn, the king of the world who fought in the battle of Ventry, is pointed out—to say nothing of one of the many wells in Ireland called *Tober Rígh an Domhnaigh*, which exists by the roadside not far off—cannot but be regarded as suggestive: and it is not beside our subject to endeavour to form an idea as to the nature of this "king of the world" myth, in view of a possible connexion between this personage and the earlier inhabitants of the settlement which has been occupying our attention. Three suggestions as to the origin of the myth have been made.

1. **Theory of a historical origin for the Rí an Domain myth.**—It is often stated that the king of the world is the sublimation of an actual universal monarch, who has become the centre of a myth-cycle; just as has the probably historic kingling, Fionn mac Cumhaill, and even the comparatively recent Oliver Cromwell, who has been absorbed in a gigantic creation whose legendary exploits would be well worth collecting.

Objections to the theory.—In seeking for a historical prototype we are practically confined in our choice to Alexander the Great and the Cæsars. It is, however, difficult to explain how any of these foreign potentates, who exercised no political authority in Ireland, should yet have exercised so great an intellectual sway over the country as to have become crystallised into place-names all over the island and to have gained an important place in the romantic literature, both written and oral. The worship of Queen Victoria by the modern natives of Orissa is obviously not a parallel case, as Orissa is politically under Her Majesty's rule: but it may be quoted as indicating a further difficulty that underlies this explanation of the problem. It is to me inconceivable that news of the exploits of such rulers as those named above should have reached Ireland without their names in some recognisable form being associated with the reports, and that these names should not have been perpetuated. This has happened in the Cromwell case, and most probably also in the Fionn case and many others. It is true that Prof. Kuno Meyer has suggested a connexion between Daire Donn, the name of the invader of Ventry, and Darius. This identification is extremely clever, but it must be regarded as unfortunate that Daire is so common an Irish name, and *donn* so common an appellative;

and it would be necessary to find an explanation of the name of the hero's father, Losgenn Lomglunech.*

2. Theory of a literary origin.—The second suggestion is one which might be deduced from O'Curry's treatment of the tale of the Battle of Ventry: the *Rí an Domain* is a conscious figment, invented for the purpose of acting in a conscious fiction, like the hero of a modern novel. The romance writers noticed the constitution of Eriu, such as it was, to depend at least theoretically on the subordination of an indefinite number of petty chiefs to the kings of provinces, and of the kings of provinces to the high king. Might we not regard them as formulating the fine conception of a High King of the world, to whom all the kings of the several countries were subject?

Objection.—We are confronted by an obvious objection to this theory in the popularity of the conception. Were the *Rí an Domain* a creation of a literary class, we would not expect to find wells dotted over the surface of the country dedicated to his honour; he would remain the possession of a few dreamers only.

III. Theory of a divine origin.—In his recently published work on the *Dolmens of Ireland*, Mr. Borlase has treated the *Rí an Domain* as identical with Crom Cruach or Crom Dubh, the pagan god whose worship St. Patrick overthrew, but who is still remembered on Garland Sunday. There seems to me insufficient evidence to warrant this very definite identification; but the essence of the theory, that the king of the world is to be identified with one or other of the characters in the ancient Irish pantheon seems to me in every respect satisfactory. I must admit that I know of no instance of his appearance in association with the cycle which we are accustomed to regard as consisting of euhemerised deities—the Dagda, Bodb, Bres, Balor, and the rest—and have found him solely with the cycle of Fionn, as in the Cath Finntrága and the Tóruigheacht Dhiarmuda agus Ghráinne. Should

* In the LU version of the *Fís Adamnáin*, Constantine is referred to by this expression, but it is carefully qualified: he is the *ardrig in domain isin mórdáil*, "high-king of the great part of the world." A connecting link between this expression and the modern application of its derivative to the Deity is given by the line, *Flaith in domain isin có himbel*—"Prince of the world to the edge"—occurring in a stanza of a hymn addressed by St. Brigid to Christ and given in the Lebor Brecc.

this observation be found correct, several explanations for it might be offered. Perhaps (though this possibility is remote) the modern criticism which has deified the Dagda and his friends has erred in so doing; or the expression may not have come into vogue till the Fionn cycle was in process of formation; or else the original tellers of the tales of the Dagda and his associates were telling what were frankly god-stories, and needed no periphrasis or euphemism to shroud the divinity of their characters, while the narrators of the Fionn tales were telling hero-stories, and hesitated to do more than hint at the nature of a personage more uncanny than the generality of their actors.

If the identification of the king of the world with *some* pagan divinity be admitted, then Kilvickadownig may be regarded as a place in some special way set apart for his cultus. We must not forget that we have already found evidence of the existence of an *aonach* site somewhere in the locality. It will also be recollected that, at the outset of this paper, we commented on the occurrence of a lunar nomenclature, difficult to explain, in the case of two stones in the townland. How far the primitive religion of Ireland was connected with the worship of the heavenly bodies we do not know; but the fact is at least worth recalling in this connexion. It is also worth notice that the only structure definitely named after a supernatural being—Clochán an Phúca—is likewise on this townland.*

The king of the world is a very favourite character in local lore, and several grotesque examples of his exploits will be found in the contributions made by natives of this district to Mr. Jeremiah Curtin's collections of folk-tales. Though some of these stories were, as I have been assured, impromptu inventions made up for the collector's benefit, the narrator in each case drew on the traditional stock, and they still may stand as witnesses to the local celebrity of the Rí an Domhain. It is curious that only one other example of topographical nomenclature derived from this expression can be found on the Ordnance maps of Corkaguiney. It is a well called Tobereendowney, on the townland of Farrannacarriga, parish of Ballinvoher, sheet 44.

* Prof. Ridgeway has suggested to me an apt comparison between Daire's *grave* and the graves of Kronos and other gods in various parts of the Greek world.

Conclusion.—The above chain of investigation may have appeared tedious and difficult to follow owing to the number and length of the digressions. It is not easy to avoid this fault in a subject which involves so many side issues, and which contains so much unbroken ground. Many of the theories put forward in the preceding pages cannot but be regarded as tentative; for though the structural remains are so abundant, yet the evidences bearing on date and on other important questions are meagre, and the possibilities of error and false deduction are numerous. But we are now in a position to outline the history of the settlement, at least as it appears to have been to one worker who commenced the investigation not knowing whither his researches might lead him.

We catch, then, a momentary glimpse of an ancient race who fortified some of the headlands round the Irish coast with great earthen walls; two of the headlands in the district that interests us at present were so treated by them. Then they vanish, and leave no other sign behind.

The settlement itself is probably (for the most part) of later date than this people. It had its origin in a community who lived by the north-west corner of Ventry Harbour; who built great earthen walls round their houses; who honoured a deity called by them the "king of the world"; and who were probably of the race that calls itself the Corco Duibne. The race multiplied and expanded westward; they built stone houses on the mountain side where stone is abundant, and even more easily manipulated than earth. They kept sheep and goats, eating the flesh and spinning the wool; hunted rabbits and hares, and probably boars; and cultivated grain, grinding it in both hand- and water-mills. Shell-fish formed an important part of their diet. When their great men died, they erected tall pillar-stones to their memory, sometimes unworked, once at least Ogham-scribed, and sometimes adorned with strange meaningless symbols. They lived in daily expectation of invasion, and in constant suspicion (to say the least) of one another. Their standard of comfort was very low; they hardly, if at all, knew any luxury.

It was probably not long after their original settlement that the True Faith was preached among them. They accepted it, though for a while their religion was contaminated with the mysteries of their ancient beliefs. But

a stone church was, in time, built not far from the locality specially sacred to the older deities. They no longer erected imposing monuments to commemorate their dead: they were now contented with lowlier stones, signed with the cross. But they had still to be watchful for earthly enemies, and their dwellings had still to be carefully defended.

The clochán period of the settlement probably extends from a little before the introduction of Christianity into Corkaguiney, down to a comparatively recent date in the middle ages. The modern inhabitants are for the most part successors, not descendants, of the older stock; who probably died out, or else were gradually dispersed by political and religious troubles, or by the need of seeking other surroundings, more fertile if less sublime.

The bearing of the subject on questions of Irish archæology.—It is a commonplace among Irish antiquaries that there were no towns in ancient Ireland. In the sense of organized communities this is no doubt true; but if we define a town as the centre of a concentrated population, then the Fahan group of buildings is the most convincing disproof of this generalisation. Such centres must have existed elsewhere; notably at Oldcastle in Meath. The dwellings there have all disappeared, as at other places that might be mentioned: Donard, in Wicklow, for instance, displays nothing at the present day but a few megalithic remains and some earth-mounds, yet St. Palladius thought it worth his while to found a church there. The houses at Donard, at Oldcastle, at Tara itself were of wattle and daub, or, at most, of timber. Most of the early churches, also, were of timber, as is conclusively proved by some architectural features of their stone successors; by the ancient tract in the Lebor Brecc on the consecration of a church; by the distinctive word *damh liag* for those which happened to be built of stone; and by the analogy of other countries, such as England, which is fortunate in possessing one of its ancient wooden churches in a tolerably sound condition—this valuable building stands at Greenstead in Essex. At Fahan, as we have seen, stone abounds, and wood was probably always scarce; to this accident is due the preservation of the dwelling-places as well as the public building (the church); and we

are thus enabled to infer the characteristics of the towns on the seacoast enumerated by Ptolemy, or the eleven noted cities with which Marcianus Heracleensis credits the ancient people of Ireland.

Section IV.—The Preservation of the Remains.

The settlement of Fahan and the neighbouring townlands has now been fully described, and such inferences as have appeared legitimate have been drawn from the remains and objects found within them. But before leaving the subject an important question should be briefly considered: how are the remains to be preserved for the instruction of future generations of archæologists, and for the time when, as we hope, a national pride will be taken in the existence of these relics of an early age?

There are other settlements of this type to be seen at Ballynavenooragh, Doonties, Dromavally, and Ballinloghig, not to go outside the confines of Corkaguiney; and each has its own special points of interest not found in the others. Among some of the Ballynavenooragh buildings, for instance, are types and features not to be found in the whole Fahan series. But the settlement that we have been considering is absolutely unique by reason of its extent. It is the Silchester of Primitive Ireland, and as such its continued preservation is a matter of the highest importance.

Whether the lords of the soil exercise their influence in this direction I do not know; but it may be at once admitted with regret that little is to be expected from the inhabitants themselves. Such of the structures as are not too high up on the mountain-side to concern them are regarded by them as (1) useless incumbrances in the way of tillage; (2) useful as (*a*) quarries, (*b*) sheepfolds, (*c*) receptacles for field-stones, or (*d*) playgrounds. There is no reverence for the remains, and the exercise of impulses based on these different ways of regarding them is a constant menace to their integrity.

The department of the Board of Public Works entrusted with the care of national monuments is the principal agent influencing the present prospects of the remains; and it is necessary briefly to consider the work which this body is doing.

The course followed may be stated thus: certain structures are—

(*a*) *selected* and scheduled, the consequence of which is that they are (*b*) *restored*, and (*c*) subjected to periodical *visitation*. There are probably practical considerations that render each of these steps necessary; but, viewed in the abstract by an outsider like the present writer, they seem to tend towards the defeat of the object for which they are taken.

In the first place, the principle of selection is fundamentally unscientific. What would be thought of the zoologist who was so engrossed with the study of the abnormalities occurring within a species that he paid no attention to the normal type? Yet this is exactly analogous to the proceeding commented upon. In selecting a monument for treatment the most remarkable specimen is naturally fixed upon, as being to the majority of visitors the most striking. Thus abnormalities like Dún Beag and Cathair an dhá Dhorus are fixed upon, and the commonplace clochán is left to tender mercies of the peasantry. But if the structures selected for preservation alone be retained, what possible conclusion could the archæologists of the future reach with regard to the settlement and its peopling? To the archæologist the humblest rock-shelter is as worthy of investigation as the colossal Dún Beag—perhaps it might yield even more important results than its imposing neighbour. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the system of selecting certain specially remarkable buildings is detrimental to scientific research, for every single structure in the series fills a place, and makes a contribution to knowledge, which can be filled or contributed by itself alone and by no other.

Secondly, the process of restoration is one which should not be entered upon without extreme caution and prolonged consideration. The restoration of such a structure as Dún Beag is a work of an entirely different order to the restoration of a mediæval church. In the latter case the architect is dealing with a style of building that he understands, or ought to understand thoroughly; and he cannot go far wrong in applying what he has learnt, from the study of contemporary buildings, to the treatment of the building with which he is concerned. Further, a mediæval church is restored, not so much to perpetuate its existence as a museum of ecclesiastical art, as to render it serviceable for the practical needs of a congregation; and these requirements often condone, even necessitate,

structural alterations that would otherwise be absolutely indefensible. But the ancient dwellings and fortresses at present under notice will never again be required for their original purpose, and are to be preserved as ancient monuments only: hence the smallest deviation from their original plan is entirely inadmissible, and the least uncertainty about the course of a wall should prevent any interference with it. Moreover, the principles of their simple architecture are not nearly so well understood as are the elaborations of Gothic art. The statical basis of the so-called "false" or "Cyclopean" arch, composed of horizontal or nearly horizontal oversailing courses, has not been properly investigated; and whereas in the hands of the ancient builders of Corkaguiney it produced a building like Gallerus that has lasted intact for some twelve hundred years, it has proved a dangerous plaything to modern constructors, as serious falls in the new work at Cathair Murphy and Clochán na Muirighne Móire prove.

Thirdly, while periodic visitation is necessary, it should be undertaken with as little ostentation as possible. If the purpose for which the inspection is made become known, there will be little compunction felt about inflicting injuries on the structures, as they will be sure to be repaired after the next visit of the inspector. The possibilities of prosecution for injuring the structures should by no means be too freely spoken of, and this expedient should be regarded as a last resort only; for these unknown terrors introduce an attractive element of bravado into liberties taken with the buildings.

After careful thought over the whole subject, both during and after the survey on which the foregoing Paper has been founded, the ideal method of procedure seems to me to be somewhat as follows:—Before a single stone is touched or a single sod turned, a number of photographs of at least half-plate size should be taken, sufficient to preserve the exact appearance of the ruins before investigation; and nothing should be done until these photographs are found to have turned out satisfactorily. Permanent prints should be prepared from the negatives, and deposited with all other documents relating to the subject, in an accessible place. A plan is also essential, drawn to a large scale, with north-point marked, and dimensions carefully figured. In most cases it will be necessary to prepare two plans, the one

as a record, the other on which to mark the progress of discovery from time to time.

A limited number of men should be engaged, that their work may be easily supervised by the superintendent; and it is hardly necessary to remark that the presence of the superintendent during the whole time of the operations is absolutely imperative.

The first actual step should be the clearance of *débris* from the floor of the clochán, and the careful examination of the ground. Every object found—including every limpet shell—should be set aside, and the position of midden-heaps or other discoveries should be at once exactly marked upon the plan. The floor should then be closed up again, and the stones replaced *within* the clochán; *no addition should be made to the walls except what is just sufficient to bring their plans prominently above the level of the débris.*

This may seem a strange recommendation, but it is, I think, sound. In the case of a clochán whose walls are nearly level with the ground, we know nothing about the possible original height of doors, position of cupboard recesses, or rate of oversail; by replacing such details at random (our only guide!) we might be falsifying evidence that would with fuller knowledge be found of importance. Especially must the building of the walls to a uniform height—as has been done in the scheduled buildings—be deprecated; for when these stones have weathered, and the new work has acquired an ancient appearance, the structure will seem as though it had originally been built thus, with the intention of roofing it with wooden lintels or in some other temporary manner.

I hesitate to make the next recommendation, which, under ideal conditions, would justly excite the indignant opposition of archæologists. But, exposed as these structures are to danger from weather and from man, I can see no better method of preserving the ground-plan thus recovered than by placing a course of cement on the top of the remaining portion of the wall. This would prevent stones from being taken off the walls, and would serve to mark the outline of the wall even if in the future field-stones and rubbish be piled over it, or a sheepfold be erected as a superstructure upon it. Of course the report should contain so full an account of the work that an archæologist might at once know exactly the

nature of every operation, and the reason for every step. Objects found in the course of the work and worth preserving should be preserved as near the photographs above mentioned as possible—that is, everything except the unworked shells of shell-fish, of the number of which, however, a record should be kept.

I may mention that I make these suggestions, and these criticisms on work already executed, upon my own responsibility, and with no purpose in view other than the preservation for future times of this unique series of buildings.

The result of the works above outlined would not, it may be freely admitted, be so popularly attractive as that of works already carried out. The average tourist may be impressed by the great wall of Dún Beag, or struck by the singular plan of Cathair an dhá Dhorus; but he would despise the little ring of wall, hardly a foot from the ground, and would not consider it worth the cement course protecting it. I ask, however, if these buildings are to be prepared for the astonishment of the average tourist: are they not rather to be preserved for the instruction of the archæologist and anthropologist, and for all who take an intelligent interest in the past of their country? I submit that only by such a laborious process as is indicated above can we fill in the outlines of our knowledge of village life in ancient Ireland, with the aid of the settlement whose marvellous remains stud the rocky hillsides of south-west Corkaguiney.

In conclusion, I have the pleasing duty of acknowledging the kindness of Messrs. Curran and Long, of Ventry; Mr. D'Arcy, of Dingle; Mr. Long, of Fahan; Principal Rhŷs, of Oxford; Professor Ridgeway, of Cambridge; and last, not least, of Mr. T. J. Westropp—all of whom have given me valuable assistance and hints in the preparation of this paper.

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

At the last moment a copy of the "Notes on Dunbeg Fort, Co. Kerry," contributed by Mr. P. J. Lynch to the third of the "Antiquarian Guides," published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* has come into my hands. This brochure must be added to the bibliography of the settlement.

The author has discovered that the road contractors are largely to blame for the recent eastward curtailment of the main wall. He also further confirms my own note of the existence of a western return, now fallen with the cliff, built at the same time as the eastern return. He denies the existence of traces of wall along the cliff side: probably he considers the remaining fragments (which so careful an observer could hardly fail to have noticed) as modern. He thinks that of any walls that Du Noyer may have seen along the cliff, "having regard to the sea encroachment . . . it is safe to conjecture that these formed no part of the original dun": but such walls are shown well within the edge-line of the cliff on the 1841 Survey map. His view of the origin of the step-like arrangement on the east of the entrance passage is a little different from mine, but we agree in assigning it to the period of the external thickening of the wall. The notes are illustrated with well-drawn plans and sections, which give a good idea of the stonework of the fort.

R. A. S. M.

JERUSALEM,
17*th September*, 1898.

* Also published in their Journal, vol. viii. 5th series, pp. 325, 328.

APPENDIX.

A CLASSIFIED LIST OF THE REMAINS ABOVE DESCRIBED.

[This sign (†) indicates that there may have been more chambers than those allowed in the classification. The number of times this sign (‡) is repeated indicates the number of rockshelters in the group.]

I. Fortified Headlands. F 9, CN 1.

II. Clochán, Single or Grouped.

(*a*) 1 chamber :—

i. Rockshelter.

a. Without avenue. F 46, 49, 51 ; G 37, 77 ; CS 31 ; CN 5, 6, 14 (?).

b. With avenue. CS 4.

ii. D-shaped chamber. G 34, 50, 54, 61 ; B 2.

iii. Circular or oval chambers.

a. Plain. K 2, 5, 8 ; F 37, 43, 45, 50 ; G 2, 14, 20, 22, 25, 29, 33, 36, 38, 42, 46, 48, 49, 52, 55, 60, 70 ; CS 6, 7, 8, 12, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 32, 35 ; CN 7, 11.

b. With avenue. K 4 ; F 20 ; G 13, 40, 71 ; CN 10.

c. Surrounded wholly or partly by a wall. F 47 ; G 32.

d. With souterrain.

1. Blank end. CN 3.

2. Souterrain leading to a lios. G 10.

e. With bed-recess in wall. G 12.

iv. Cuspidate chamber. CS 15.

v. Four-sided chamber.

a. Plain. Cb 3 (?) ; F 33 ; G 47 ; CS 9 (?), 11 (?), 22.

b. With avenue. G 73.

c. Circular outside. F 9.

vi. Plan indeterminate owing to ruined condition.

a. Plain. G 17, 62 ; CS 27 ; CN 2.

b. With avenue. G 65.

c. With souterrain. G 16.

(β) 2 chambers :—

i. Independent of one another (i.e. with no door of communication).

a. Not in contact. F 11, 21, 22‡, 41, 56‡‡; G 39, 64; CN 8, 12.

b. In contact. K 3; F 25; G 69; CN 13.

c. With bed-recess. Cb 2†; G 43.

ii. With a door of communication.

a. Each chamber with an external door. G 19†, 28.

b. One chamber only with an external door. F 53; G 51, 72; CS 17.

c. As above, surrounded by a lios. F 3.

iii. Second chamber subordinated to the first (i.e. contained within its wall or area). F 15, 19, 38, 52, 54; G 5, 45, 75.

iv. Relation between the chambers indeterminate.

a. Without souterrain. F 12, 36; G 68; CS 25†.

b. With souterrain. CS 28.

(γ) 3 chambers :—

i. Independent—

a. Not in contact. F 23; G 1 (?), 57, 59‡‡‡.

b. Surrounded by a lios. B 1.

c. In contact (with a bed and open yard in addition). F 39.

ii. The three chambers opening on a central passage. F 24; G 53.

iii. Communicating—

a. With external doors to two at least. G 63.

b. With only one external door. F 17 (?); G 6, 74; CS 29‡.

iv. One chamber subordinated. F 35; CS 33.

v. Two chambers subordinated. F 29, 44.

vi. Relation between the chambers indeterminate. F 10, 34; G 23, 67.

(δ) 4 chambers :—

i. All independent—

a. Not in contact. F 13.

b. Ditto, with a surrounding wall. G 8†.

c. Two in contact. CN 9.

d. Three in contact. G 9.

ii. Communicating two and two, separate entrance to each pair. G 58.

iii. Three communicating, fourth independent but in contact. G 27.

iv. All communicating. G 76 (?).

v. Three independent, one subordinated. G 35.

vi. Three subordinated. CS 30.

vii. Relation between the chambers doubtful. Cb 4†; F 1, 2†.

(ε) 5 chambers :—

i. All independent. K 7; CS 3.

ii. Communicating in two groups, two and three. G 24.

iii. One subordinate, two communicating, two independent. F 55.

iv. Two subordinate (an open yard added). CS 10.

v. Three subordinate, two communicating. F 28.

vi. Relation uncertain. F 8.

(ζ) 6 chambers :—

i. All independent. G 41.

ii. One separate, five in contact, of which two communicate; bed added. G 44.

(η) 7 chambers, all independent. F 4, 48; CS 1, 13.

(θ) 11 chambers :—

i. Nine independent. F 32.

ii. Eight independent. G 4.

iii. Five independent. G 7.

iv. Relation doubtful. F 18.

(ι) 15 chambers, nine independent, rest communicating in pairs. K 6.

(κ) 20 chambers, partly independent, grouped, and subordinated. CS 2.

(λ) Structures destroyed, or too ruinous to be satisfactorily described. K 1; F 5, 6, 7, 20a, 26, 27, 30, 31, 40, 42; G 3, 10, 15, 21, 26, 30, 31, 56, 66; CS 14, 24, 34.

III. MONUMENTAL ANTIQUITIES, CEALLURACHS, &c. K 2, 10; F 7 (?); CS 18: CN 14 (?).

IV. CHURCH. F 14.

V. MILL. G 18.

VI. WELL. CS 5.

VII. EARTHEN LIOSA OR ENCLOSURES OF DOUBTFUL CHARACTER. Cb 1; K 9, 10; F 4, 16; G 11; B 1.

VIII. SOUTERRAIN ISOLATED FROM ANY ASSOCIATED BUILDING. CN 4.

	Total number of Remains.
Clochan chambers certainly existing, ...	414
Fortified headlands, ...	2
Ring-mounds of earth, ...	7
Sculptured crosses, ...	12
Standing and Inscribed Stones, ...	18
Souterrains, ...	19
Miscellaneous, ...	6
Ruinous buildings, ...	23
	501

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XXIV. Views: (i) K 7; (ii) G 77.
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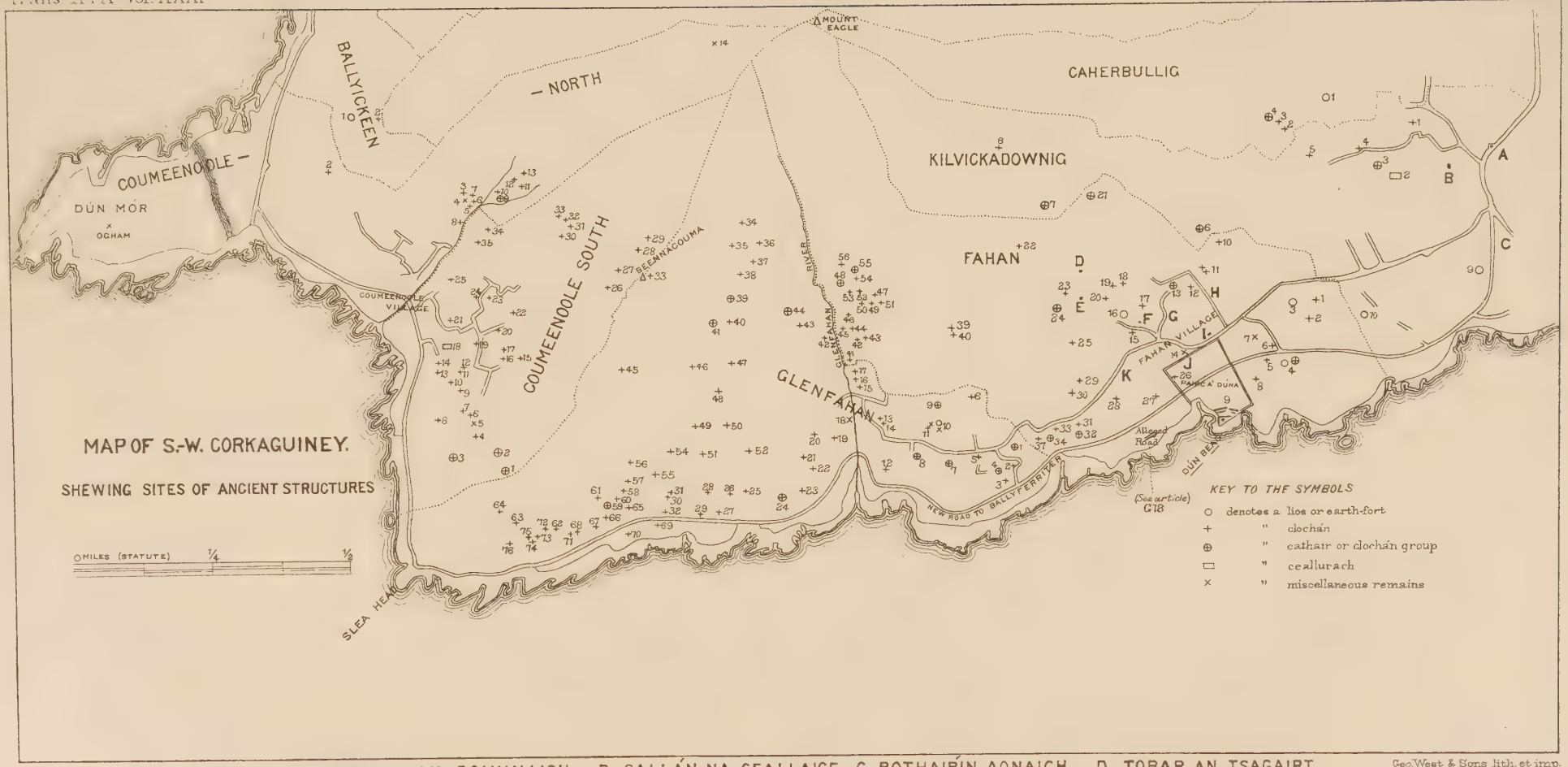


A. TOBAR RIGH AN DOMHNAIGH B. GALLÁN NA GEALLAIGE C. BOTHAIRÍN AONAIGH D. TOBAR AN TSAGAIRT

E. TOBAR BEANNUIGHTHE F. TOBAR MUIRE G. BOTHAR AN CHEARDA H. BOTHAR NA MAOILINE

I. TOBAR MUIRCHERTHAIGH J. TEAMPULL BEAG K. BOTHAR FÁIN

Geo. West & Sons lith. et imp.

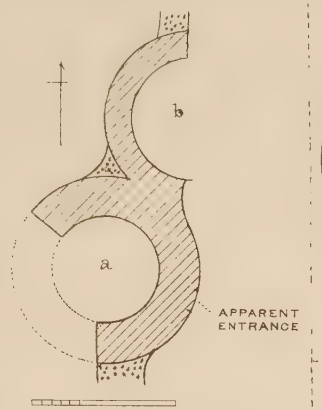


Fig. I.

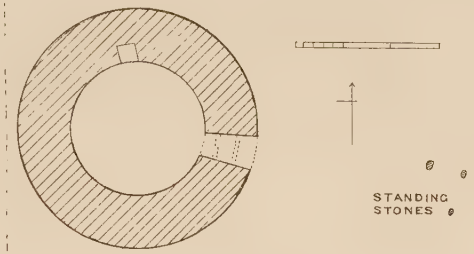


Fig. II.

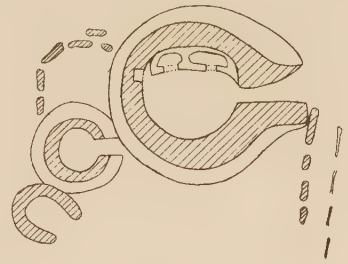


Fig. III.

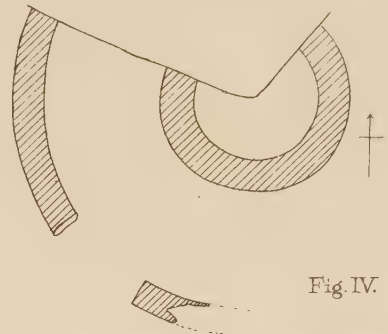
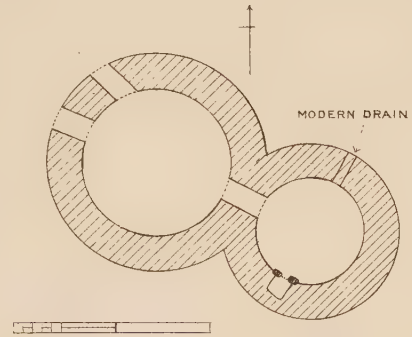


Fig. IV.



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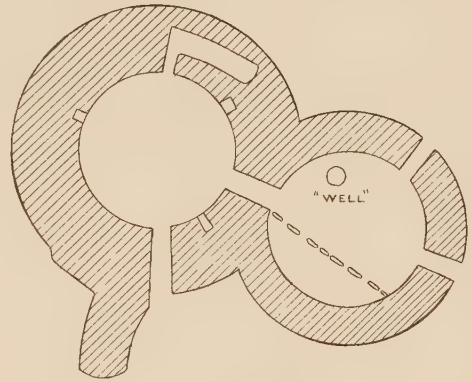

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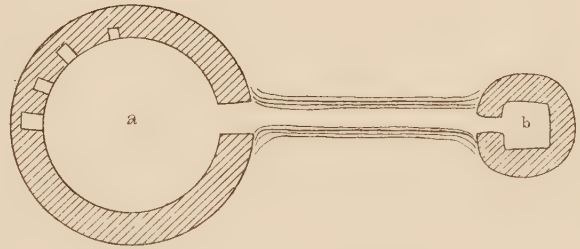

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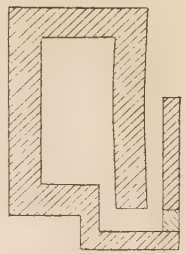

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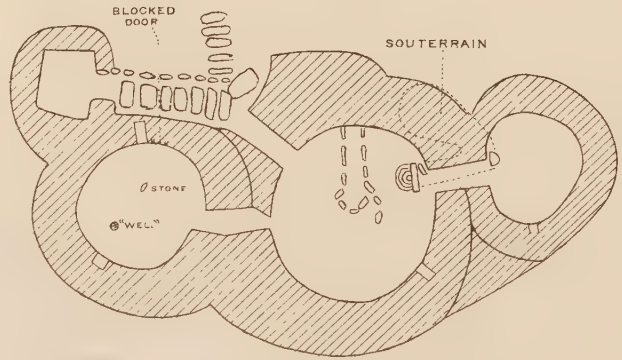

Fig. VIII.

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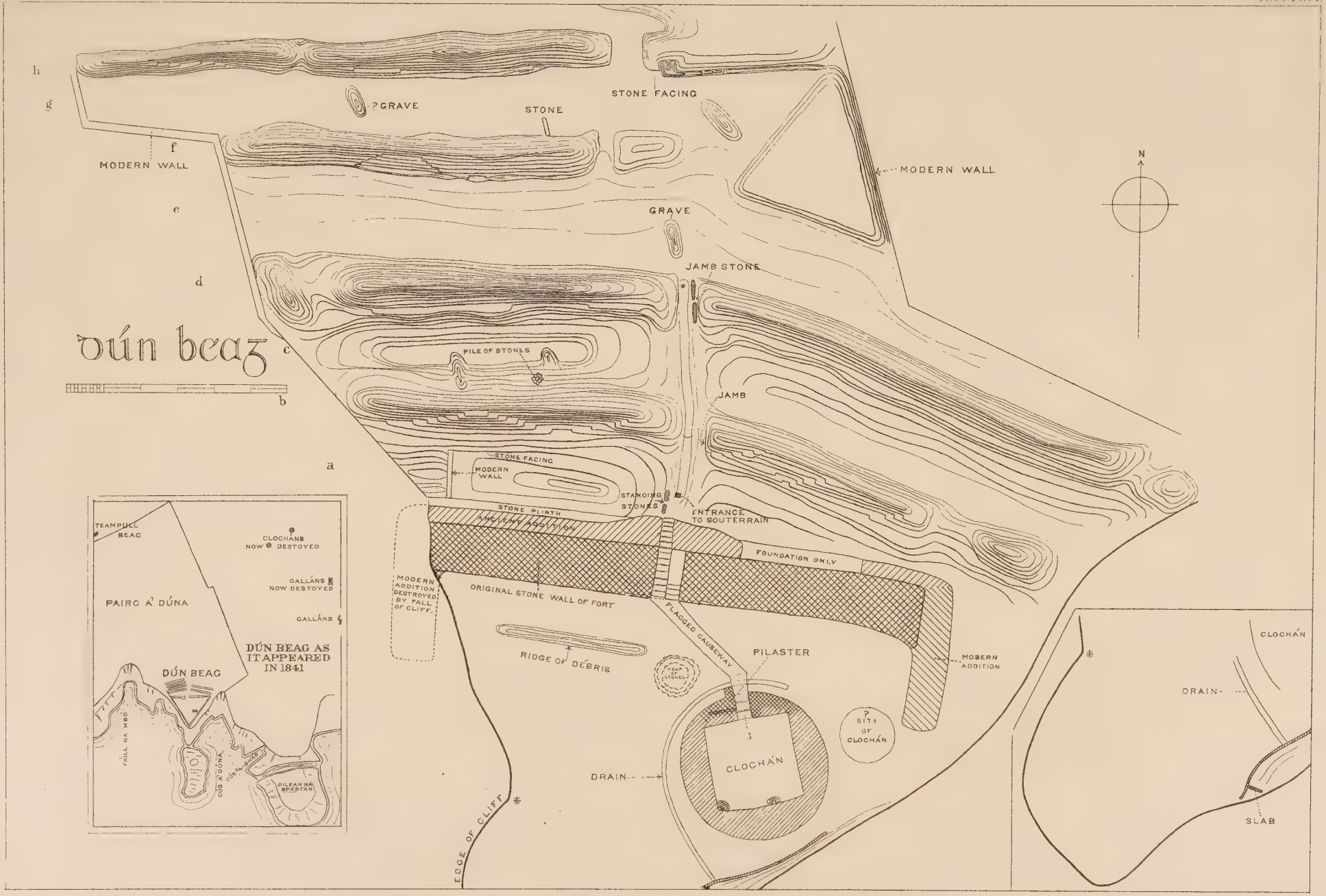
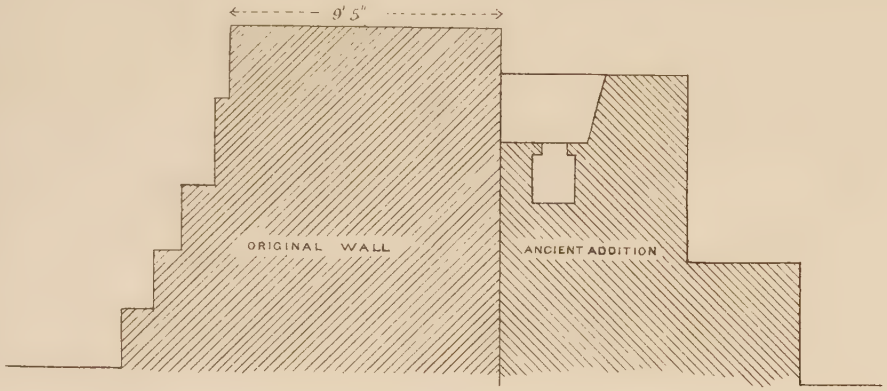
ANCIENT STRUCTURES IN KILVICKADOWNIG, FAHAN, GLENFAHAN, AND COUMEENOOLE.



Jac. West & Sons lith. et imp



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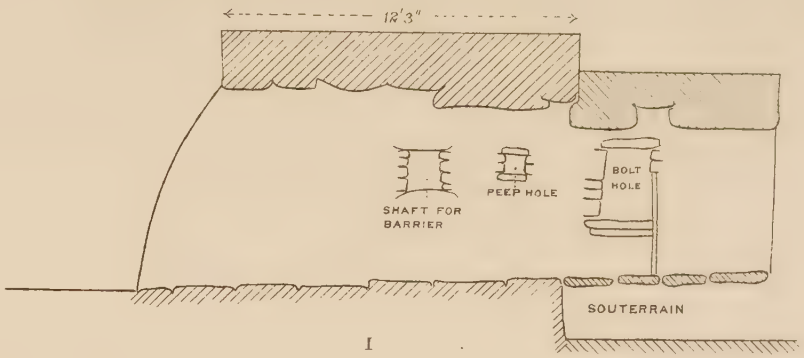

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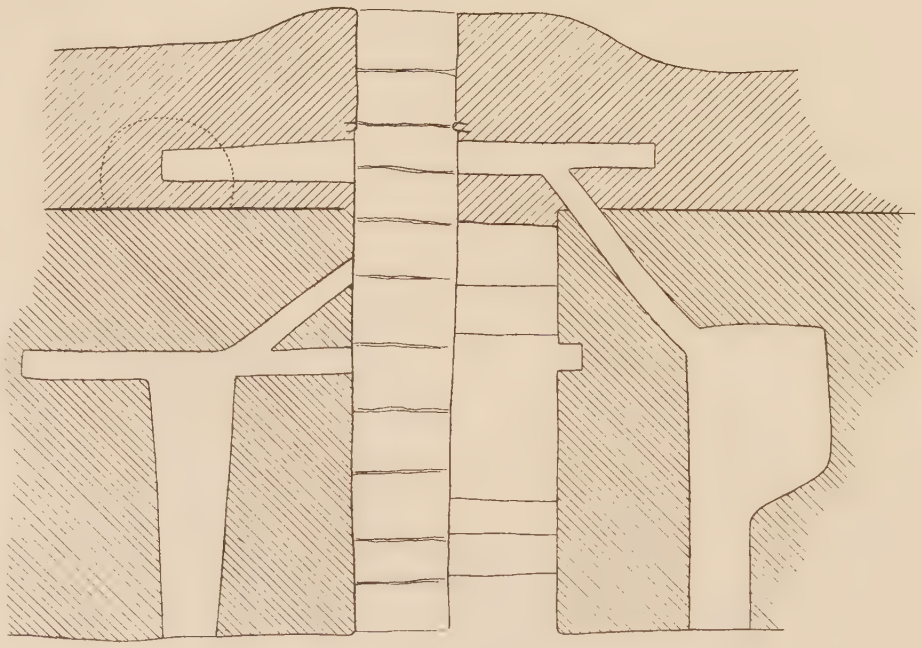

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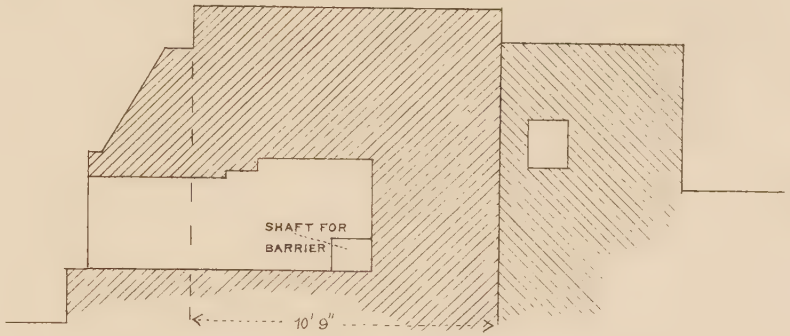

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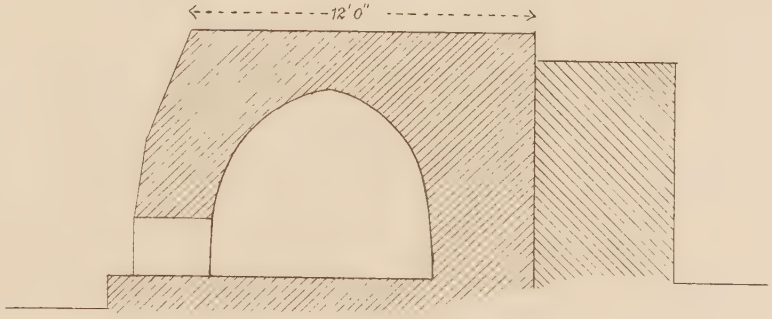

V

DÚN BEAG

I. SECTION SHEWING CONSTRUCTION OF WALL AND BLOCK HOLE. II. SECTION THROUGH ENTRANCE

III. SECTION THROUGH WESTERN CHAMBER. IV. PLAN OF ENTRANCE. V. SECTION THROUGH EASTERN CHAMBER.

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Fig. I.

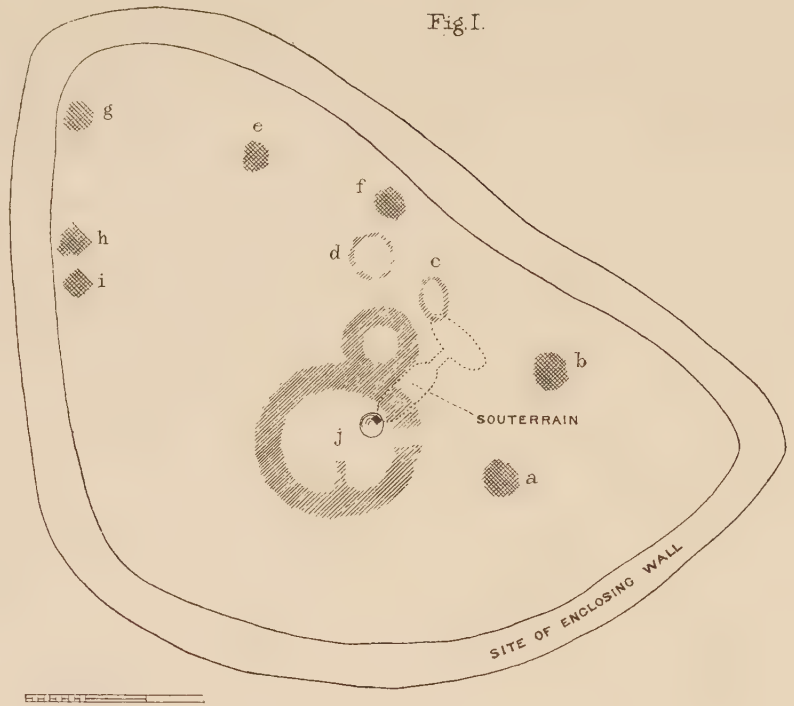
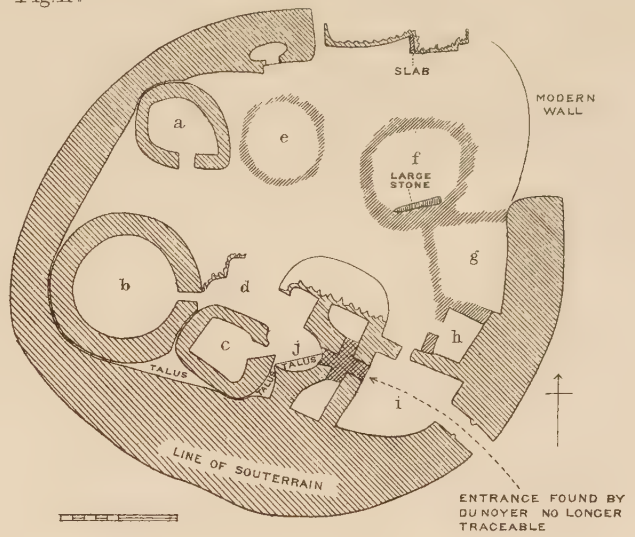


Fig. II.



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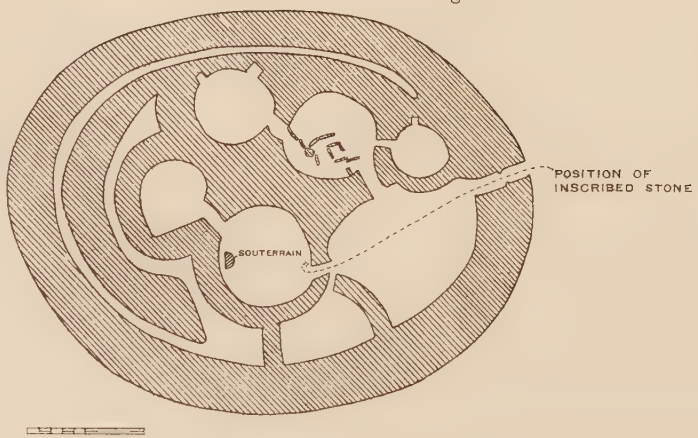

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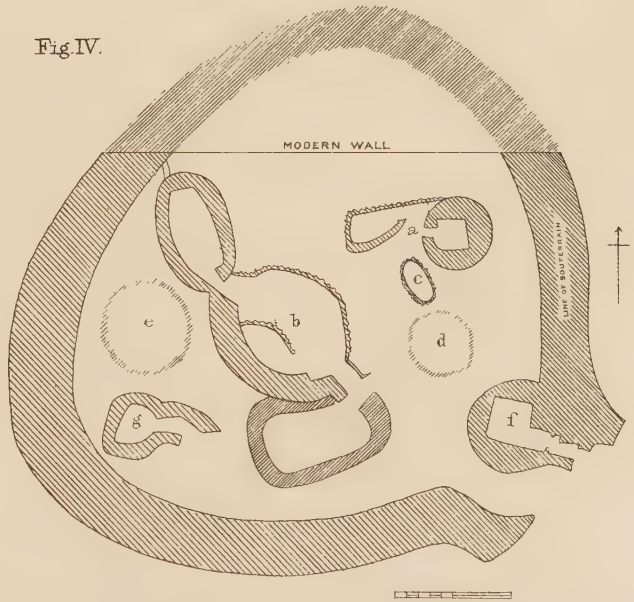

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THE CATHAIRS OF FAHAN AND GLENFAHAN.

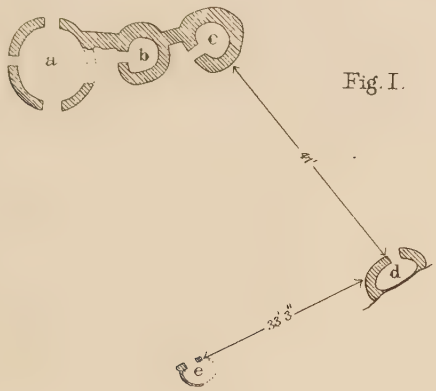


Fig. I.

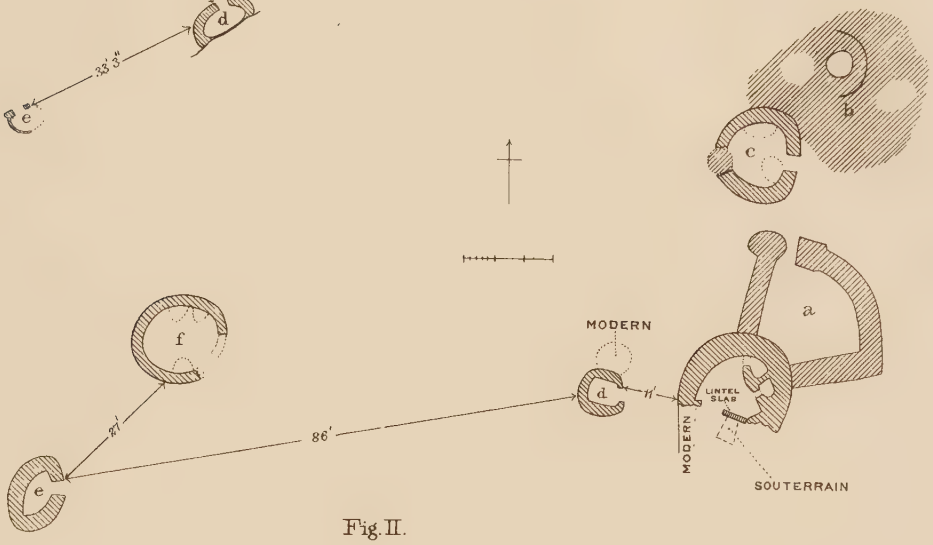


Fig. II.

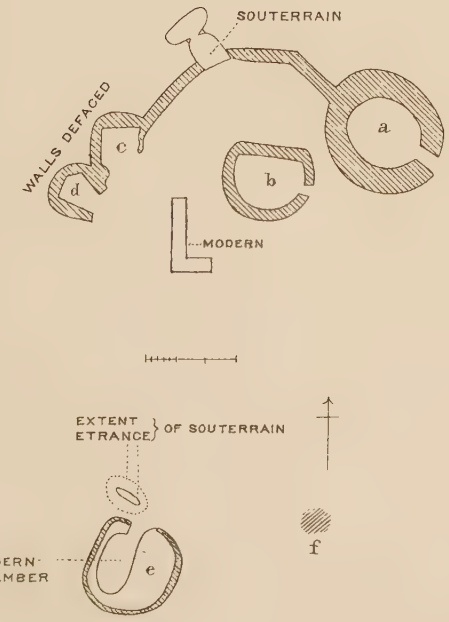
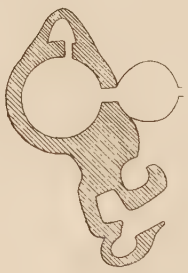


Fig. III.



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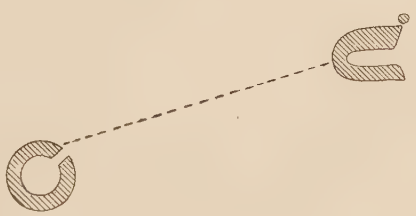

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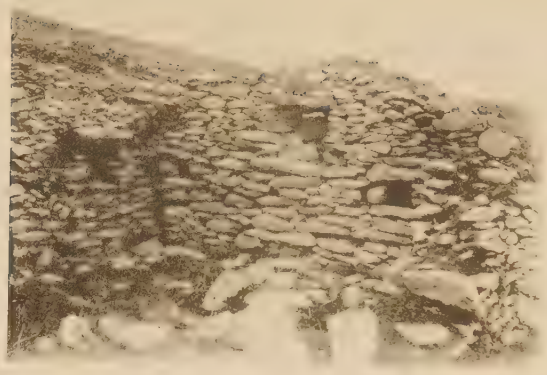
ANCIENT STRUCTURES IN GLENFAHAN AND COUMEENOOLE.

I.



II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4